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A CENTURY
OF
CONTINENTAL HISTORY

A CENTURY

OF

CONTINENTAL HISTORY

1780—1880

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EVENTS UP TO THE YEAR 1900

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BY

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"The history of this age will no longer be only a relation of the lives of great men and of princes, but a biography of nations."—GERVINUS.

FIFTH EDITION
REVISED AND CORRECTED THROUGHOUT

FEB 20

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PREFACE.

THIS work is intended for the Upper Forms of Schools, as well as for all who desire to have a clearer knowledge of the course of events on the Continent. It is, in fact, designed as a help and book of reference for readers of that complex production—the daily newspaper. Most newspaper readers have no clear knowledge of what is meant by the "Eastern Question," the "Dual System" of Austria-Hungary, or even of the momentous series of events which have brought unity to Germany and to Italy.

This book therefore aims at giving an outline of the main events which have brought the Continent of Europe to its present political condition. The development of the States of Europe can be traced in a continuous outline since the fusion brought about by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. So I have striven to describe the break-up of the old systems and the formation, amid many con-

vulsions, of Continental States on the basis of the Treaties of Frankfurt and Berlin. The Peninsular and Crimean Wars have been described with less detail than other equally important events which are less familiar to English readers.

J. H. R.

March 1889.

PREFACE TO THE FIFTH EDITION.

As far as limits of space have allowed, I have introduced into the present edition several alterations and additions, which will, I trust, increase the value of this little work. In particular, I have added three chapters (xliii.-xlv.) describing in brief compass the chief events in the history of France, Germany, and Russia in the last two decades of the century. The general plan of the book forbade any attempt to handle questions of policy. My aim has been throughout to describe in simple style those external facts of which we can in some measure gauge the accuracy. Here and there, however, in these later chapters I have sought to interpret the meaning of events, bearing in mind the warning uttered by Mrs. Browning—

> "Every age,
> Through being beheld too close, is ill discerned
> By those who have not lived past it.
> 'Tis even thus
> With times we live in—evermore too great
> To be apprehended near."

J. H. R.

September 1905.

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CHAPTER I.

CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

"In proportion as the power of the monarch becomes boundless and immense, his security diminishes."—MONTESQUIEU.

THE French Revolution, the most terrible and momentous series of events in all history, is the real starting-point for the history of the nineteenth century; for that great upheaval has profoundly affected the political and, still more, the social life of the Continent of Europe.

The English student must, at the outset, lay aside all comparisons with the English Revolution of 1688, which, by the substitution of William III for James II, and by a clearer limitation of the powers of the Crown, peacefully introduced the era of constitutional governments; whereas in France, a century later, a terrible social upheaval accompanied the political changes, and inaugurated the era of *new societies* on the Continent.

The peacefulness of the transition in England, and the violence of the rupture between the old and new eras in France, were caused by influences long at work in both countries.

As far back as 1709 the learned and devout Archbishop Fénelon had said of the social life of France, "The old machine will break up at the first shock." He saw that the seeds of the Revolution were being sown during the long

and brilliant reign of *LOUIS XIV* (1643-1715). Owing to the exhaustion of the nobles in the long religious and civil wars (1562-1653), that imperious young monarch was able to strip them of their political power. The Provincial "Estates" were never summoned; and for fifty-eight years the "Grand Monarque" could truly boast, "I am the State."

In the old feudal times the French nobles (as elsewhere in Europe) had almost absolute powers over their own feudal dependants, whom they were bound to protect against pillage; but the splendours of Versailles attracted them as submissive courtiers to the king's court, there to lead a frivolous life and squander the revenues of estates which they rarely visited.

Thus the absolutism of Louis XIV led to a perilous concentration of power and wealth at Versailles, against which the great French political thinker, Montesquieu, in 1748, uttered this warning: "Monarchy is destroyed when the prince, directing everything entirely to himself, calls the State to his capital, the capital to his court, and the court to his person."

¶ Louis XIV's religious intolerance drove at least 100,000 Protestants, his most industrious subjects, to seek a refuge in England, Holland, and Brandenburg (1685-1690);[1] and his ambition brought three long wars on France, in the last of which she suffered crushing defeats from Marlborough and Prince Eugène. Thus during the last eleven years of his reign the population of France considerably diminished.

¶ After a troubled regency the reign of his indolent and worthless great-grandson Louis XV (1723-74) was even more

[1] Thus French liberty and commerce were paralysed at the very time when the English nation was regaining its old constitutional rights.

disastrous for France, both at home and abroad. In the great Seven Years' War (1756-1763) France gained nothing in Europe, while she lost nearly all her North American and East Indian possessions. The "double effort" of carrying on war in Europe and beyond the seas had exhausted France. At home extravagance and bad government were ruining trade and agriculture: famine followed famine; and in "1739 and 1740, more people died from want than in all the wars of Louis XIV."

"This will last my time," and "After me the deluge," were the replies of the old king to the signs of discontent which could not be hidden from him. At last this worthless monarch died, despised and deserted even by the courtiers whom he had enriched.

Louis XVI (1774-1792).—The destinies of France rested on his grandson, the amiable, moral, and generous Louis, now barely twenty years of age. The wild hopes cherished at his accession soon faded away. France needed a reforming monarch of keen foresight and iron will: she gained instead a ruler who would have been a model country squire. Devoted to the chase, and endowed with the stout frame and huge appetite of the Bourbons, Louis XVI yet lacked the strength of mind to overpower the opposition of his queen and court to the reforms which he felt to be necessary. In fact, his good qualities were of that passive type which cannot mould men and circumstances, but is moulded by them. His was a courage which could calmly resist the threats of a mob (as on June 20, 1792, in the Tuileries), but could not inspire men to fling prudence to the winds and rally to the defence of a doomed cause. Yet the popular instinct was right in regarding the simple-minded king as a friend of the people, though thwarted by the queen and his youngest brother, the Comte d'Artois.

Marie Antoinette was a complete contrast to her royal spouse: lively, graceful, and fascinating, she possessed the spirit and ability to rule of her mother Maria Theresa, without the prudence and wisdom of the Empress-queen. Cruelly slandered in the extraordinary scandal of the Diamond Necklace, she early lost the esteem of the people, whom she thenceforth scorned to propitiate; and her love of gaiety and splendour led her to side with the courtiers against the economies of Turgot and Necker: accordingly she was hated as "L'Autrichienne" or "Madame Deficit."

Turgot and Necker.—Turgot, during his control of the finances (1774-1776), attempted to carry out this sensible policy: "No loan, no increased taxes, no bankruptcy." He sought to improve agriculture by abolishing the "corvées" (forced labour claimed by feudal lords), and by proclaiming the freedom of internal trade; but his economies were so unpopular at Versailles that the king dismissed him, though he said, "Nobody loves my people but M. Turgot and myself."

He was succeeded as finance minister (1777-1781) by Necker, a banker born at Geneva, who published a balance-sheet, which showed many of the abuses of the government. For a short time he succeeded in making the state revenue meet the expenditure; but the armed assistance which France gave to the American colonists (1778-1783) hastened on the bankruptcy of the national treasury. He also tried to introduce social reforms, such as the abolition of the remains of serfdom; but the anger of the queen and courtiers alarmed Louis, and Necker retired. With his resignation vanished the last hope of peaceful reform; for each of the next two finance ministers, Calonne and Brienne, only strove to keep up the *appearance* of solvency during his own tenure of office.

Such were the persons on whom was cast the fate of guiding the ship of State down the rapids. We shall now see that the craft was leaky, top-heavy, and unfit to stand any strain.

Taxation.—During the first fifteen years of his reign Louis XVI had, in spite of difficulties in his way, abolished torture before trial, compulsory labour on the roads, and serfdom on the royal domains: he had conceded civil rights to the Protestants, and established a system of provincial and parochial self-government. Yet the root of the financial difficulty remained untouched, viz. that the nobles and clergy paid scarcely any taxes, while the middle classes and peasants paid nearly all. The immunity of nobles and clergy from taxation dates from the times when the clergy were quite poor, and when the feudal lords were charged with the defence of the realm. As it was said, "The nobles fight, the clergy pray, and the people pay." But the clergy had now become a rich order, and a royal standing army had taken the place of the feudal military system; yet still the nobles, who in France had sunk to the position of courtiers, remained free from taxation, as if they still defended the realm at their own expense. The number of the clergy, nobles, and privileged persons is said to have reached 270,000; for it constantly increased by the sale of official sinecures, which carried with them this privilege of nobility. Thus the crushing weight of taxation lay on the shoulders of the peasantry and the comparatively small middle class. It has been computed that the peasant farmers had to pay about half of their annual profits in taxes to the State; and that when tithes and feudal dues had been discharged, only about one-fifth of the fruits of toil remained to the toiler. The capitation, or poll tax, was levied even on the poorest;

the dues on salt raised the price to eight times the present price; and bread was made artificially dear in one province, and cheap in another, by provincial customs duties on the internal trade in corn; while endless dues, tolls, and privileges impeded trade and agriculture.

Land Tenure.—By far the larger portion of the land in France at the accession of Louis XVI was held under the feudal system. Besides fixed annual payments by tenants to their lords, there were in many cases annual tributes of wine, corn, or fowls, and specified duties when a farm changed hands. The landowners also levied tolls on markets, bridges, or roads, and claimed a fixed number of days' gratuitous labour (*corvée*). These conditions thwarted improvements in agriculture, and became more and more vexatious when the noble no longer resided among his dependants as a feudal protector, but was looked upon merely as a rent-receiver at Versailles. The estates of the clergy were better looked after; and no small part of the land was practically in the possession of the peasants who tilled it. In spite of harsh game laws and of the scandalous injustice of the taxation, the condition of the peasantry in France was probably better than it was in central and eastern Europe; and the "old machine" might have survived the financial strain of the American expedition, but that new ideas of equality were becoming generally familiar among a populace which saw nothing but inequality around.

Voltaire and Rousseau.—The wit and sarcasm of Voltaire (1694-1778) had long been undermining the reverence of the cultured classes for the old monarchical and religious ideas; and into the void thus created the sentimentalism of Rousseau (1712-1778) found a ready entrance. In that age Rousseau proclaimed a much

needed, if exaggerated, truth, when he referred man's conduct and the constitution of society to what it would be in a state of nature. Starting with this vague assumption, he, in his *Contrat Social*, sketched out a state of society in which men, being all free and equal, would form themselves by common consent into a free state. He approved of a republican form of government, modified by a stern dictatorship in grave crises; but he believed that in such a state all citizens would dwell together in love. This sketch of an ideal state had a profound effect on the whole course of the Revolution. It made the deputies of the Third Estate from the first indisposed to accept at once the practicable reforms which court, nobles, and clergy were ready (May 1789) to concede; whereas it led the commoners to insist at the outset on a fusion of the three orders which the other two were determined to refuse.

Moreover, the application of Rousseau's teaching seemed so simple that all his disciples deemed themselves at once fitted to exercise equal political powers; and his admission that a dictatorship might be necessary to enforce the will of the people against anti-social recusants received a frightful application in the dictatorship of Robespierre. The sentimental novels of Rousseau were very popular with the wealthy classes, and the courtiers for a time played at being shepherds and shepherdesses; but his social speculations soon produced on the poor an effect which the philosophers and the wealthy had not expected.

The "Parlements."—Though the privileged classes coquetted with the new ideas, they, up to 1788, opposed their practical application in the equalisation of taxation; and they used their power in the Paris and twelve provincial "Parlements" to thwart the king's reforming efforts. These bodies consisted, not of elected repre-

sentatives, but of nominees appointed by the king for life; and their duty was, not to initiate legislation, but to register royal decrees and administer justice. In 1787 the Paris "Parlement" registered royal edicts establishing provincial assemblies, decreeing free trade, and the right of redeeming the *corvée*, or feudal labour system, by a money payment; but when it refused to register a new land tax which would affect the wealthy (1787), Louis compelled it to do so in a special sitting, called "a bed of justice," and then exiled it to Troyes.

Soon in the provinces, especially in Dauphiné, there was also active opposition to the finance minister Brienne, more particularly when he proposed to suppress all the "Parlements" and replace them by a central plenary court for all France. So sharp was the opposition in Dauphiné, headed by the reformer Mounier, that Louis XVI decided to cancel Brienne's proposal, to accept his resignation, and convoke the States-General of France for May 1789.

The States-General.—Lafayette, the commander of the French forces in the American War of Independence, had in 1787 suggested that this assembly should be convoked; and all men now caught at it as the only plan for rescuing France from her difficulties. The States-General consisted of deputies of the three orders—nobles, clergy, and the Commons or Third Estate. They had not met for 173 years; so the mode of their election and the scope of their powers had been almost forgotten. Louis, however, had given a double representation to the Third Estate, so that its members should be equal in numbers to those of the other two orders combined; and this seemed to foreshadow the union of the three orders in one Assembly. But in the inaugural processsion and first sitting (May 4 and 5) the old distinctions of dress and

etiquette were seen to survive. The Third Estate, before verifying the returns of its own members, notified that it awaited the arrival of the other two orders; and when these finally declared that they would vote as separate orders, the Third Estate defiantly declared itself to be the **National Assembly** of France (June 17, 1789).

CHAPTER II.

THE REVOLUTION.

"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive
But to be young was very heaven!"
WORDSWORTH.

"When France in wrath her giant limbs uprear'd,
And with that oath which smote air, earth, and sea,
Stamped her strong foot, and said she would be free,
Bear witness for me, how I hoped and feared!"
COLERIDGE.

THIS bold innovation marks the revolutionary spirit which had spread among the people and its representatives. Nature herself seemed to conspire to overthrow the old *régime;* for the harvest of 1788 had been ruined by an extraordinary hailstorm in July, and the unwonted severity of the succeeding winter was so destructive to the mulberry trees that the silk trade was paralysed. An unwise system of public relief-works in Paris attracted starving peasants to the capital; so that all the materials for an outbreak were ready at Paris and Versailles.

The queen and courtiers, enraged at the attitude of the self-styled National Assembly, persuaded the king to overawe it by troops, annul its declarations, and occupy its hall. Nothing daunted, the deputies repaired to the Tennis Court, and in that bare building they swore, with uplifted hands,

that "they would meet in all places, and under all circumstances, till they have made the Constitution" (June 20). In two days they were joined by 149 deputies of the clergy, and the rebuke of the king, in a "royal session," for their conduct fell unheeded. After the king, nobles, and most of the clergy had left the hall, the remaining deputies were summoned to disperse by the king's usher; but a bold voice thundered out, "Go, sir, and tell those who sent you that we are here at the command of the people, and that nothing but the bayonet shall drive us hence." The speaker was Count Mirabeau, a man of wild habits, but of vast energy and indomitable will, who henceforth wielded the chief personal authority in the Assembly and in Paris.

The court, again foiled, continued to mass soldiers around Paris and Versailles, until at last it felt itself strong enough to procure the banishment of Necker, reinstated as finance minister August 1788, who disapproved of a reactionary policy. This news aroused fierce excitement in Paris. The famous regiment of the French Guards at once protected the people from the mercenary regiments assembled to overawe them; and in a short time the court could rely only on the Bodyguard, composed of nobles, and on the mercenary Swiss and German regiments. Many of the French soldiers had brought back with them new ideas from the American War of Independence, and none of them would any longer tolerate the scanty and irregular pay, and harsh treatment by officers who belonged entirely to the order of the nobility.

The Bastille.—With no fear of the soldiery, therefore, the Paris mob, on the morning of the famous 14th July 1789, burst into the "Hôtel des Invalides" and seized cannons, swords, and 28,000 muskets. A committee of

defence, hastily formed at the Town Hall ordered the manufacture of 50,000 pikes. The populace, now furnished with firearms, rushed to the entrance court of that grim hated fortress, the Bastille, whose cannon commanded the Faubourg St. Antoine, a populous quarter of the city. It had long been a State prison where men might be hurried without trial by a sealed letter (*lettre de cachet*); but under the milder rule of Louis XVI it now held only seven prisoners, and these not for political reasons.

The governor, De Launay, refused to surrender, though his garrison numbered thirty-two Swiss and eighty pensioners. Two bold men at once sprang forth from the crowd to strike at the chains of the drawbridge; this fell before their strokes, and the victorious crowd rushed over it to attack the next barrier; but they were kept off for four hours by the fire of the garrison. At last the arrival of the French Guards, with cannon to force the gates, disheartened the defenders, and they forced the governor to surrender on condition that the lives of all should be spared; but the excited mob massacred the governor and seven of the garrison. Soon afterwards the "Provost of the Merchants" fell a victim to the suspicions of the people that he had trifled with their demand for weapons.

The same night the king at Versailles was informed of the outbreak. "Why, it is a revolt!" he said. "No, sire," rejoined the liberal Duc de Liancourt, "it is a Revolution." Indeed few great victories have had results so far-reaching as those of the 14th July, which the French celebrate as the birthday of new France. The withdrawal from Paris of the troops which were to have overawed the capital showed that the attempted *coup d'état* of the court had failed. Necker was recalled, and received an enthusiastic welcome in Paris; and when Louis himself visited his capital, and

donned the new tricolour cockade, the rejoicing was unbounded. Bailly, the newly-elected mayor, said, "Henri IV reconquered the people of Paris: now the people have reconquered their king."

On the other hand, many of the reactionary nobles and the king's younger brother (afterwards Charles X) left the country: this was called the "first emigration."

Lafayette.—The disorders of the capital during the next three months showed the need of new organisations. A new democratic municipality was established, and some order was restored by the enrolment of a citizen guard—afterwards the National Guard—under the command of the Marquis de Lafayette. This young noble had distinguished himself at the head of the French forces in the American War of Independence, and throughout his long career he retained the devotion to constitutional government and orderly liberty which he had there learned. It was Lafayette who had lately united the Bourbon white with the Paris colours, red and blue, on the national flag, as a sign that the monarchy was now constitutional. Though his chivalrous nature was marred by defects of vanity and weakness, yet the devotion of his citizen guards enabled him to do more than any one else towards stemming the tide of anarchy during the next two years.

The "Jacqueries."[1]—The news of the Revolution in Paris aroused vague fears and hopes in the peasantry. An insane panic seized them that "the brigands were coming"; and it is thought that this panic was spread by the vicious and designing Duke of Orleans, the king's cousin, who hoped that anarchy would pave the way for his accession.

[1] Jacques Bonhomme is the national name for the French peasant, just as John Bull is for the British farmer; hence risings of the peasants were called Jacqueries.

At any rate the peasants everywhere armed themselves; and when no brigands came, they followed the example of Paris on the 14th July, by attacking the castles of their feudal lords. Many castles were burned and some lives taken; but in most cases only the hated title-deeds, which specified the feudal dues, were destroyed. The National Guards of the towns were almost helpless to stop these disorders; and even in Paris streets the hated minister Foullon, who had said that the peasants "might eat grass," was snatched away from his escort, and his head was carried through Paris on a pike, with grass thrust into the mouth.

Legislation. — The National Assembly prefaced its practical work by a theoretic declaration of the *Rights of Man*—viz. individual liberty and equality, freedom of speech and opinion, trial by jury, and the sovereign power of the people over taxation and legislation. It then turned its attention to the anarchy of the provinces; and on the 4th August, in a fit of generous enthusiasm—a "St. Bartholomew of Privileges"—swept away all the feudal privileges in one long sitting. Feudal dues and tithes, compulsory gratuitous labour, and the harsh game laws were abolished; so also were all local immunities from taxation, first fruits, and the local courts where laws had been administered by the lord of the manor. The first of these had, however, been practically abolished by the burning of the title-deeds by the peasants themselves.

Next the Assembly decided that it would remain one Chamber (as opposed to the English plan of two Houses of Parliament), and that the king should have a right of *suspensive veto*—which was suggested by Lafayette after the American model — so that, though the king might have vetoed a bill, yet it became law if two successive Assemblies should pass it again.

In general the action of the Assembly was far too slow to cope with the needs of France. Its members, nearly 1200 in number, kept no order in debate, procedure, or voting; and the fatal mistake was made of allowing a large number of spectators present in the gallery; for in a short time these interfered with debates and intimidated the moderate members.

The Insurrection of Women.—If the queen and the reactionary nobles could have learnt by experience, they would have seen that the Revolution, like a swollen torrent, only became more destructive with every attempt to turn it back; whereas by being guided in its natural course, its force might have become even beneficial. But a momentary flush of triumph turned the heads of the courtiers. The regiment of the Bodyguards was entertaining the "Royal Flanders," just summoned to Versailles. The king and queen passed through the hall; and after Blondel's song,

"O Richard, O mon roi!
L'univers t'abandonne,"

had been played, the excited young officers donned the white Bourbon cockade and trampled on the tricolour. This foolish scene, repeated on October 3, 1789, aroused fierce excitement in Paris. There the poor were still on the verge of starvation; for the relief-works only attracted more famished creatures from the country districts, again afflicted by a miserable harvest; and in the towns trade had been paralysed by the disorders. On the 5th October women assembled in thousands, crying "Bread! Bread!" and at last started for Versailles, followed by an excited armed rabble. The king's palace was at first almost at their mercy, until Lafayette and the National Guards arrived

Rain, darkness, and fatigue put an end to conflicts with the Bodyguards, who were ordered by the king not to fight; and so this strange night passed quietly, until at daybreak some of the mob found, or forced, a way into a wing of the palace. The king and queen had barely time to escape with their lives. Lafayette and the French Guards at last restored some order; but the mob insisted that the king and queen should be brought to Paris, and they shouted for the hated "Austrian" to appear on a balcony alone. "No children," was the cry; but when Lafayette, kneeling down, kissed her hand, their murderous threats changed to enthusiastic cheers. Then, safely but ignominiously, the royal family was escorted into Paris, followed by the Swiss and Bodyguards, now adorned with the lately insulted tricolour. The vast crowds danced with joy, for they were bringing back also fifty cartloads of corn; and pointing to the royal carriage, they shouted that they were bringing "the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's boy." Thus, the procession moved slowly towards the palace of the Tuileries.

The National Assembly soon moved to the Riding School close by; and so court and Assembly were practically in the power of an excitable populace numbering some 800,000. Paris had indeed conquered its king now; and it shows the strong monarchical instinct of the French that monarchy could exist for nearly three years after the scenes of October 6, 1789.

Movements of the National Assembly
to be in next ch.

CHAPTER III.

THE CONSTITUENT AND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES.[1]

Legislation (1789-1790).—The old provincial "Parlements" had long since regretted their short-sighted opposition to the king's reforming efforts, and now strove to excite the provinces against the capital and the Assembly which they had unwittingly called into being; but they had no popular support, and the Assembly easily swept away the old provincial system. The new division into **Departments** of equal size or population, and the substitution of natural features for the old historic nomenclature, carried out the behests of Rousseau's doctrine of natural equality. Furthermore, it aided the growth of national unity; for men now prided themselves only in being Frenchmen, and no longer in the name of Norman, Gascon, or Burgundian. Each of the eighty-three new Departments was divided into districts, each district into cantons, and each canton into rural municipalities or communes; and these last had *local* powers so considerable that for a time France may be said to have been divided into 44,000 little republics.

Meanwhile, bankruptcy was paralysing the State, which could not raise money at ten per cent, though the clergy

[1] The first Assembly was called the Constituent, because its work was to pave the way for, and to form, the new Constitution; so also after the Revolution of 1848 the first Assembly was called the Constituent, the second Legislative.

could borrow at four per cent on the Church lands. The needs of the treasury and jealousy of the clergy as a powerful order led the Assembly to decree the **Confiscation of Church lands** for the service of the State (December 2, 1789). Tithes had already been abolished; and now, to facilitate the sale of Church lands, paper-notes, called *assignats*, were issued with forced circulation; but public confidence in them grew less and less, and they fell rapidly in money value. But the worst blow was to follow; for, after abolishing monastic orders in France, the Assembly decreed in July 1790 the **Civil Constitution of the Clergy**. By this decree the clergy were to take an oath of obedience to the State, of which they were henceforth to be the salaried officers, elected by the people. This decree, as invalidating the Pope's authority, was repudiated by two-thirds of the clergy, who were thereupon deprived of their benefices. In Alsace and La Vendée the villagers would not attend the services of the new "Constitutionals," but travelled far to attend secret meetings of the orthodox "nonjuring" priests. These two decrees caused the beginnings of a reaction against the Revolution.

The reform of the law-courts was conceived in a wiser and juster spirit. Trial by jury, which in its early forms had been wide-spread in Europe, but had survived feudalism only in England, was now appointed for the trial of criminal cases; while for civil-law cases, judges were nominated by the Assembly. Rousseau's levelling doctrines received a further application in the abolition (June 20, 1790) of titles, liveries, and orders of knighthood—a decree which was practically ignored save by Jacobins during their ascendency.

The Constitution.—Popular enthusiasm for the new constitution which was slowly taking shape, was shown in

the splendid national celebration of the 14th July 1790, the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille. Four hundred thousand spectators, ranged on seats of turf, which had been raised with vast effort around the immense Champ de Mars, rapturously joined in the oath of fidelity to the constitution, repeated aloud by Lafayette and the federates representing the National Guards, then by the National Assembly, and lastly by the king himself. The joyous fêtes which followed were crowned by dancing on the site of the once terrible Bastille, the stones of which were now being formed into the new bridge, "Louis XVI."

The constitution, when completed in the autumn of next year (1791), left very little beside the suspensive veto and mere executive duties to the king; and the king's ministers were almost reduced to the position of clerks to the all-powerful Assembly. Its labours came to a close with the reluctant acceptance of the new constitution by the king, after the flight to Varennes; but, with a foolish display of self-denial, it decreed that none of its members could sit in the next Assembly; and thus another set of untried men soon came up to gain experience at the expense of the nation's welfare.

Spread of Anarchy.—Meanwhile civil strife had soon succeeded to the fraternal "Feast of pikes" of July 14, 1790; only six weeks afterwards two regiments at Nancy demanded the arrears of their pay, and seized the town. The brave old general Bouillé was ordered by the Assembly to bring them to obedience; and with some faithful troops and National Guards he retook the town after desperate street fighting.

With the exception of the southern cities, where religious feuds had been excited between Roman Catholics

and Protestants, the financial distress was the main cause of the wide-spread disorders of France in 1790-1791. The finance minister, Necker, having no means to enforce the payment of taxes, in despair fled to Geneva; and many wealthy people also fled from the disorders, taking their money with them. Bread riots were of daily occurrence in the next two winters; corn-merchants and bakers were in some places hanged for selling dear corn or bad bread, and, as a natural result, corn became scarcer and bread dearer; yet all this was attributed by the insane populace to "aristocrats." As Taine says, "Distress increased tumult, and tumult increased distress."

The Clubs.—In Paris itself the national workshops became so expensive to the city, and so demoralising to the workmen, that they had to be closed. Amid the distress the extreme party had become more active and powerful, especially through its powerful organisation in the Cordeliers' Club, and in the still more famous Jacobins' Club.[1] By its hold on the Paris mob, and by its network of branches in the departments, the latter soon possessed power enough to overawe the Assembly; and able men, being excluded by Robespierre's motion from seats in the second or Legislative Assembly, came to the "Jacobins"; so that its debates were more business-like than those of the new legislators.

Robespierre.—The favourite speaker in the Jacobins' Club was a thin, wiry little advocate, whose neatness of dress always contrasted with the slovenliness affected by other demagogues: Maximilien Robespierre, the son of a poor advocate at Arras, early showed signs of that

[1] So called because it met in the church of the old Jacobins' Convent at Paris: hence the name Jacobin as applied to revolutionists.

austerity, perseverance, and intense belief in Rousseau's theories, by which he forced himself to the front. At Arras he had resigned his judgeship rather than condemn a criminal to death; yet, amidst the warfare of parties at Paris, his resolve to force Rousseau's system of society on the world drew him ever farther into paths of bloodshed; so that he now stands pilloried in history as a monster of cruelty which he never believed himself to be. In the night when the September massacres began, Robespierre said to his disciple St. Just, "I have not slept: I have watched like remorse or crime; but Danton—he has slept." Significant words of self-pity, and hatred for his daring accomplice in the massacres! In the first Assembly his puny figure, livid complexion, and persistent self assertion exposed him to constant ridicule; but he had his revenge on his opponents. Vain and envious himself, he set himself to move the envy of the Paris mob against men of note—Mirabeau, Lafayette, Dumouriez, the Girondists, and finally against his powerful rival, Danton. Thus the convulsions of revolution at last brought him uppermost over the corpses of rivals, whose wider sweep of talents or sympathies had exposed them to popular suspicion. To the Paris mob he seemed the one invincible champion of the Revolution, the one trusty guide to the millennium of Rousseau. It cast him down also when it found itself to have been guided, not to a millennium, but to a massacre.

Danton.—The president of the "Cordeliers," a small club of extremists, was a masterful advocate, Danton. A man of burly frame, unbridled passions, and vast energy, he could excite a mob to laughter by his coarse wit, or to frenzy by his wild harangues. It was Danton who, from a safe distance, was to excite the Parisians to the attack

on the Tuileries (August 10, 1792), to the September massacres, and to the *levée en masse* against the invaders. Yet after the crisis was over at the end of 1793, even Danton's ferocity, uninspired by the same rigid belief in Rousseau's system which nerved Robespierre, shrank from a continuous policy of judicial murder applied by the latter. His moderation, or as the extreme Jacobins termed it, his indulgence, was urged as proof of his complicity with traitors; and suspicions, probably exaggerated or even groundless, of his corruptibility, made him an easy prey to the insidious attack of Robespierre (1794).

Other secondary figures are the witty journalist Camille Desmoulins in the Cordeliers; in the Jacobins the young Louis Philippe d'Orléans, the eccentric Anarcharsis Clootz, together with Barnave and the two Lameths, who find themselves at last left high and dry as constitutionalists and royalists.

Mirabeau.—Most noteworthy of all is Mirabeau, who soon began to devise great schemes for rescuing France from the approaching deadlock. He saw that the new constitution would prove unworkable with so weak an executive, and that nothing was to be hoped from a *coup d'état* in favour of the quasi-democratic Duke of Orleans, whose vice and weakness were unredeemed by the king's good qualities. Early in the spring of 1791 Mirabeau had a secret interview with the strong-willed Marie Antoinette at St. Cloud, to devise means for the king's flight to Rouen, and for raising the provinces against Paris and the Assembly. But a mortal disease saved Mirabeau from the alternative of failure or of causing a civil war. "I carry in my heart the death dirge of the French monarchy," was his proud and true prophecy on his deathbed (April 2, 1791).

Varennes.—On June 20, 1791, the royal family secretly left the Tuileries in disguise to join the royalist general Bouillé at Metz; but the ill-arranged flight failed, for a village postmaster, who had recognised the king through his slight disguise, galloped on to Varennes, the next halting-place, roused the National Guards, and barricaded the bridge. Surrounded by troops, the phlegmatic king and his scornful consort re-entered Paris amid gloomy and silent crowds; for the people thought that the king meant to put himself at the head of the emigrant nobles at Coblentz and invade France.

Yet even now only thirty extreme members of the Constituent Assembly, led by Robespierre, demanded the king's deposition; and when in September 1791 Louis accepted the new constitution, Lafayette, the conciliator, moved and passed an amnesty for mutual forgiveness of the faults on both sides. But the divisions were too serious to be thus patched up, and they broke out again during the distress and anarchy of the winter months. These feuds were inflamed by **Marat**, a clever but crossgrained fanatic, who from his hiding-places in cellars or garrets preached to the people in his newspaper hatred of every one who was not a *sans-culotte* (ragamuffin).

Avignon.—In the papal town and county of Avignon terrible struggles between the papal and democratic parties had not been stopped by annexation to France; and on October 16, 1791, they culminated in a frightful massacre of papal aristocrats by the democratic extremists, headed by the "brigand" Jourdan. One hundred and thirty bodies were found in the Ice Tower by the constitutional troops which marched in to restore order.

In this same terrible autumn came news from San Domingo. There the new levelling theories were put into

practice by the blacks against their masters, amid massacres and savage reprisals which wrecked the prosperity of the most flourishing colony of France.

The Legislative Assembly, which met in October 1791, contained 136 revolutionists, whose fierce energy, backed up by threats from the gallery, often prevailed over the remaining 509 constitutional and royalist members. The revolutionists themselves soon split into two parties—the "**Mountain**" and the "**Gironde.**" The former, so called because it occupied the top benches in the Assembly and in the Jacobins' Club, intended to enforce its extreme theories by methods no less violent; the latter, so called because some of its leaders came from the Gironde, wished to see its more moderate counsels prevail by constitutional methods.

The support of many of the moderates (called the "Plain" because they occupied the lowest benches) placed the Girondists in power. The chiefs of this enthusiastic band of young theorists were the talented journalist Brissot, the philosopher Condorcet, the eloquent Vergniaud, the popular Pétion, and the austere and upright Roland, whose brave and gifted wife was their inspiring genius. In the same way Madame de Staël at her *salon* guided and encouraged the moderates.[1]

Among the two thousand decrees which the Legislative Assembly evolved in its first year, two only are noteworthy. The first confiscated the property of all emigrants without distinction; the second declared that all nonjuring priests were suspects liable to imprisonment. These harsh measures finally became law in spite of the king's suspensive veto,

[1] These two remarkable women exercised great influence even down to the Reign of Terror, when the former was guillotined, and the latter barely escaped to Switzerland.

and they added to the bitterness of the wealthy classes abroad, and of the clergy and orthodox Catholics at home, against the Revolution. Still more infatuated, however, were these brilliant theorists of the Gironde in their foreign policy.

CHAPTER IV.

CENTRAL EUROPE.

THE abolition of the old feudal rights of German nobles in the French districts of Alsace in 1789 had been made a matter of complaint against the French Assembly by Leopold II, who was both ruler of Austria and the Emperor.[1] The King of Prussia joined him in the Declaration of Pillnitz (August 1791), threatening the French government with armed intervention if any violence were offered to Louis and Marie Antoinette, who was Leopold's sister. On its side the French Assembly complained of the intrigues against France of the emigrant nobles assembling at Coblentz to the number of some 3000. On the dispersal of these bands, and on the supposed withdrawal of the Pillnitz Declaration, peace seemed assured; for both Austria and Prussia had domestic difficulties, and designs on a weak eastern neighbour; and Leopold II, dying after a short reign, was succeeded by his son Francis II early in 1792. The Girondists, however, who at this time still held the reins of power in France, believed that a crusade against monarchy abroad was in itself a holy cause, likely also to further the Revolution at home by diverting attention from internal conflicts of factions; also, as their leader Brissot afterwards said, they "sought in the war an opportunity to set traps for Louis XVI, and to expose his relations with the emigrant nobles."

[1] *i.e.* the elected Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

A threatening despatch sent by Leopold shortly before his death gave to the Girondist ministry the desired opportunity. Louis XVI was compelled to declare war against Austria, his eyes filled with tears and his voice faltering as he spoke the fatal words. He knew that during this war the revolutionists would be accounted the only patriots, and that all royalists would be branded as traitors for their inevitable sympathy with the invading nobles and foreigners. At the other extreme of French thought, Robespierre and the "Mountain" opposed the war from a wise presentiment that it would end by giving France a military dictator in place of a weak nominal ruler.

League against France.—In a short time Prussia declared war against France. Catharine, Czarina of Russia, was ready to side against the revolutionists if there were need; and the chivalrous Gustavus of Sweden sought to league the whole continent in a crusade to rescue the fair Marie Antoinette. The King of Sardinia placed an army of observation on the south-eastern frontier of the distracted country, which was thus beset, except on the Swiss frontier, with a line of foes from the Austrian Netherlands on the north down to the Mediterranean.

But the desperate energy of the French peasants in defence of their newly-won rights was destined to repel and then to crush a coalition which possessed a formidable appearance rather than real solidity. Gustavus was soon to fall by a bullet from Ankarström, an accomplice of the nobles whom he had dispossessed of power. Catharine of Russia wished to busy Austria and Prussia on the Rhine, so that she might be free to seize more of Poland; and suspicions of this retarded the allied powers, who thought Poland might soon be more important for them than France. It will next be seen how the new ideas undermined the old

societies of central Europe, which were only fitted to with stand the direct blows of warfare.

The Empire.—The imposing structure of the Holy Roman Empire had long been crumbling to decay. At the end of the disastrous Thirty Years' War (1619-1648) the Empire definitely lost the two confederations of Switzerland, and the United Provinces, or Netherlands; and, beside other concessions to its own component States and free cities, it gave up the right to control their foreign policy. Henceforth its great council, the Diet, by its slow and pompous trifling mismanaged the little power left to it. The "Emperor" (for up to 1804 this title was always limited to the modern representative of the Cæsars) was still elected, but the reigning monarch of the House of Hapsburg was always chosen. The medley of States, which in 1792 was still dignified by the historic name of the "Empire," consisted of electorates, principalities, bishoprics, free cities, and a crowd of petty States hardly larger than a manorial estate. It has been well described as a "chaos upheld by Providence." Neither were the individual States the seats of vigorous local life; for though in Bavaria, Baden, and in some of the Protestant States of North Germany, reforms had been initiated, yet the States as a whole were sunk in the torpor of the Middle Ages; and in the bishoprics of the rich Rhineland, "out of every thousand inhabitants, on the average fifty were priests or monks, and 260 were beggars."

Thus the weakest and most divided part of Germany was the first to bear the brunt of French invasion; while the real defence of the Empire lay with its two chief component states, Austria and Prussia, the main territories of which were 200 and 300 miles away from those of France.

Austria consisted of a collection of peoples and districts which, by hereditary succession, contracts of marriage, peaceful election, or conquest, had come under the sceptre of the House of Hapsburg. This may be shown most clearly by a table :—

AUSTRIA proper, STYRIA, and CARNIOLA	Bequeathed in fief by the Emperor Rudolf to his sons the Counts of Hapsburg, 1279-1282
CARINTHIA, TYROL . . .	Bequeathed to the Hapsburgs, 1335, 1369.
BOHEMIA, MORAVIA . . .	Election, 1526.
HUNGARY and its Crown lands—CROATIA, SCLAVONIA, and DALMATIA	Election, 1526.
SPANISH NETHERLANDS and NAPLES, MILAN, and Kingdom of SARDINIA[1]	Treaty of Rastatt after War of Spanish Succession, 1714.
EAST GALICIA	First partition of Poland, 1772.
WEST GALICIA	Third partition of Poland, 1795.

In these dominions no fewer than eleven distinct languages were spoken, without reckoning dialects. When most of these districts accepted the rule of the Hapsburgs they still retained their local rights, customs, and laws. Consequently this unwieldy group of States could not withstand the impact of the smaller but highly-organised power of Prussia when wielded by Frederick the Great. Taught by the misfortunes of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), the great queen Maria Theresa did much towards centralising the government at Vienna; she also abridged the privileges of the nobles and clergy, abolished the Inquisition, reformed the monastic system, and relieved the peasants from many feudal burdens and from the rigour of the game laws; but her reforms were too gradual to satisfy her generous but impetuous son Joseph.

[1] Naples and Sardinia were now independent.

Joseph II (1780-1790).—Animated by the philosophic reforming spirit of the eighteenth century, this royal Rousseau desired to sweep away all distinctions of provincial laws and customs, so that his motley dominions should form one vast family. He abolished all provincial governments, so as to concentrate all power in his own hands at Vienna. In Hungary and its crown lands, which formed half of his dominions, he alienated the dominant Magyar race by enforcing the use of German as the official language, and by removing the sacred crown of St. Stephen from Presburg to Vienna. This centralising policy was accompanied by rash but well-meaning reforms. Thus Joseph II did away with all monasteries, all feudal vassalage, tithes, and forced labour, without compensation; on the other hand, his pedantry descended to such petty tyranny as the regulation of funerals, and the repetition by children at school of a new political catechism.

These changes pleased no one: his reforms enraged the nobles and clergy, while his centralising decrees and other hasty changes aroused successful armed resistance in Hungary and in the Austrian Netherlands. The rash but well-meaning monarch was in the end compelled to undo all his work—good and bad alike; but this victory for provincial rights was also a victory for the privileged classes, who regained most of their feudal rights over the now discontented peasants. His failures as a legislator, and also as a general in the Turkish war, so preyed on the monarch's mind that he died (1790) lamenting that "all his undertakings had miscarried."

Leopold II (1790-1792), his brother, found half of his dominions in revolt. The Netherlanders had expelled Austrian troops from all the Austrian Netherlands except Luxemburg; but Leopold's tact and his understanding with

Prussia caused the withdrawal of Prussian support from the insurgents; and the Austrian troops regained a temporary hold on those distant and dissatisfied provinces. Leopold's conciliatory policy helped to allay the ferment in his Austrian and Hungarian dominions; but for all governmental purposes they were as weak and disunited as in the days of Maria Theresa. Jealousy between Austria and Prussia was still the dominant force in central Europe. Each power feared to see the other extend its influence in the Netherlands or in Poland; and only the cause of monarchy against revolution brought the two monarchs Leopold II and Frederick William II to a temporary accord at Pillnitz.

Francis (1792-1835).—Leopold's sudden death early in 1792 brought his son Francis II to the hereditary throne of Austria and to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire, which was, in name, still elective. With a change of title made in 1804, as Francis I, *Hereditary* Emperor of Austria, he was to see his realm three times crushed by Napoleon, but reinstated in its old power long before his death in 1835.

Prussia.—The sudden rise of Prussia to the rank of a great power had been due to the unconquerable energy with which Frederick the Great had wielded the resources of his small kingdom during the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). Aided by the financial support of England, Frederick had defied the might of Austria, France, and Russia, and retained the valuable province of Silesia, which he had formerly seized. Until his death (1786) he laboured to develop the resources of his kingdom by encouraging trade and agriculture, and by the construction of roads, canals, and harbours. By the acquisition of Silesia, part of Poland, and East Frisia on the North Sea, Frederick left to

his successor a kingdom of about 4,000,000 inhabitants, and a redoubtable army of 200,000 men. The rigours of the feudal system, however, remained unchecked; nobles, citizens, and peasants were still separated in three distinct classes; and Frederick's partiality for French literature blinded him to the progress of his own citizens in "enlightenment," which was due to the revival of German literature under Lessing; so he still excluded the burgher class from all offices in the army and administration.

Frederick's patronage of Voltaire, as court wit and favourite at Berlin, set the rage for the new French ideas all through Prussia and Germany: they were almost as destructive of the old reverence and morality as they had been in France. The secret society of the Illuminati (the "enlightened") was founded in Bavaria in 1776; and under the name of the German Union spread the new atheistic and revolutionary doctrines through the corrupt societies of the Rhineland bishoprics. The death of the great Frederick in 1786 was another misfortune for Prussia, in bringing to the throne his weak and luxurious nephew.

Frederick William II (1786-1797) soon squandered on unworthy favourites the treasure which his frugal uncle had collected for the needs of the State; and the same autocratic system which had been so powerful under Frederick the Great was now a source of weakness in the nerveless hands of his nephew: the best administration in Europe suddenly sank into one of the worst: State documents lay scattered about the royal apartments, to which favourites of both sexes had free ingress. Mirabeau, who was then French agent at the Berlin court, thus describes it: "A decreased revenue, increased expenditure, genius neglected, fools at the helm—never was any State nearer ruin." The forms of the old vigorous system survived the reality: the

severe drill and frequent use of the cane by officers took the heart out of soldiers who had shown their heroism on many a battlefield of Silesia and Saxony. Still the weakness of all its neighbours made the Prussian State seem powerful by comparison, and the distracted state of the Dutch Netherlands, or United Provinces, seemed to offer an easy field of triumph to the ambitious Frederick William II.

The Dutch Netherlands.—In the war with England (1780-1783) the Dutch colonies and foreign commerce had suffered severely; and William V, the young stadholder, now hereditary president of the United Provinces, increased the public confusion by open attempts to gain monarchical power. His party was upheld by England and Prussia; consequently the Dutch democrats were aided by the French court. At last in 1786 the burghers proclaimed his deposition, and he at once appealed to his brother-in-law the Prussian king. The Duke of Brunswick at the head of Prussian troops easily overcame all opposition: the Orange, or stadholder's, party triumphed, and many Dutch democrats sought refuge in France, soon to return in the triumphant invasion of the French revolutionists (1795).

The independent bishopric of Liège, which then separated the two parts of the Austrian Netherlands, was also the scene of a civic revolt against the oppressive rule of the bishop (1789): it too was occupied by Prussian troops until an agreement was made with Austria.

Thus all over central Europe there was social and political unrest, which was soon increased by the declaration of the "Rights of Man," and the resolution of the French Assembly—"Peace to peoples: war against governments."

CHAPTER V.

FRANCE—TRIUMPH OF THE REVOLUTIONISTS.

THE weak and distracted state of the Austrian Netherlands seemed to invite a French attack on their unprotected frontier; but two columns of young French levies were seized by a blind panic, retreated from their posts, and hanged their commander. The Austrians, however, were not sure enough of their hold on these provinces to take a bold offensive, and it was the end of June 1792 before the Duke of Brunswick advanced with the Prussian forces against the eastern frontier of France. The King of Prussia drew up an insolent manifesto, which Brunswick against his own better judgment issued, stating that, unless the French reinstated Louis in all his rights, Paris would be subjected to martial law. This manifesto, which played into the hands of the Paris revolutionists, was only equalled in folly by the slowness of Brunswick's movements. Instead of concerting with the Austrians two rushes on Paris, he proceeded with methodical slowness, while the devastations of the emigrant nobles in his ranks nerved all Frenchmen to a desperate resistance.

Meanwhile the fruits of this policy of loitering and braggadocio were but too evident in Paris. Even before the manifesto roused the revolutionists to fury, the danger to the country had caused a fresh revolutionary outburst

Popular demonstrations had been made against the exercise of the royal veto on two decrees, for banishing nonjuring priests and for forming a camp of 20,000 pikemen near Paris. These riots culminated on June 20, 1792, the anniversary of the Tennis Court oath, when a violent crowd burst into the Tuileries and for four hours thronged around the defenceless monarch demanding the withdrawal of his veto. "This is neither the time nor the place," calmly replied Louis; "I will do what the constitution requires." Baffled by his quiet dignity, the rabble was at last persuaded by the Mayor Pétion to depart. Lafayette, indignant at this outrage, came from his command on the Flemish frontier to attempt to crush anarchy at its source, the Jacobins' Club; but the petty spite of the court against him, and the cowardice of the orderly citizens, left him without support, and he only lost influence by the attempt. The extremists were further encouraged by the arrival of 500 Marseillais, who, as they marched through France "to strike down the tyrant," sang the new national hymn, thence called the "Marseillaise."[1]

Fall of the Monarchy.—A new terrible revolutionary power had just sprung full-armed into existence. The "Commune," claiming to represent the "sections" of Paris, and supported by armed ruffians, ousted the lawful municipality (August 10), and organised an attack on the Tuileries. Headed by the Marseillais, vast crowds of armed men surrounded the palace to the sound of the tocsin on the night before the 10th of August 1792; and soon after dawn of that fatal day, Louis found that he had only some 900 Swiss and a few National Guards on whom

[1] Composed by Rouget de Lisle, a French officer, who was afterwards imprisoned during the Reign of Terror, and only saved by the Thermidorian reaction.

he could rely; for Mandat, their popular royalist commander, had been decoyed away and murdered by the Commune at the Hôtel de Ville. Ever loth to shed French blood, Louis quietly refused the pistols which his proud and warlike consort handed to him, and decided to entrust himself and his family to the protection of the National Assembly. They reached its shelter in safety; but two shots fired, probably by the mob, after their departure opened a desperate conflict at the Tuileries with the Swiss, who had not been told to leave their posts: these devoted troops stood their ground and even captured cannon turned on them by the National Guards. In vain the king sent word that they should cease firing; for at last the infuriated mob cut down those who remained in the palace, not sparing even the unarmed servants. A mere handful of the hated Swiss reached the shelter of the Assembly. Only three years before Louis had used these troops to overawe the Assembly at Versailles. During a long and exciting sitting, the royal family listened to discussions which ended by decreeing the temporary deposition of the king for his own safety; but this did not satisfy the victorious Commune, led by the violent Danton and the miscreant Marat. It compelled the Legislative Assembly to "reconstitute" itself by purging away all royalists; and a new Assembly was soon elected, called the **National Convention**. A revolutionary ministry, with Danton as its minister of *Justice*, succeeded the legally constituted powers: lastly the Commune ordered that the king should be confined in the "Temple" prison "for his own security."

Bad news from all sides poured in on distracted Paris: that Lafayette, refusing to acknowledge the new revolutionary powers, had fled across the Flemish frontier; that

the Prussians had taken Longwy (August 23) and Verdun (September 2); that the Austrians were besieging Thionville; while from the west came tidings that the peasants of La Vendée were rising in arms for king and religion.

The September Massacres.—In these straits Danton thrilled the Assembly by his masterful words, "We must dare, dare, always dare"; and the desperadoes of the Commune listened to his dark threats, "We must strike terror into the royalists." The prisons of Paris were suddenly filled with royalist suspects; and a band of hired ruffians, after a brief form of trial, slaughtered every one who was not proved to be favourable to the revolution. In this systematic three days' massacre, not fewer than 1400 suspects perished by the pike (September 2-6, 1792); and it has been proved that Robespierre, Danton, Marat, and the committee of the Commune organised this horrible deed.

The pay given to the gang of murderers still stands in the Paris archives as expenses "for rendering the prisons more salubrious."

Valmy (September 20, 1792).—France was not saved by these murderers, but by the valour of her troops, and the skill of Dumouriez, the successor of Lafayette. The Prussians were slowly advancing towards the hilly, wooded country on the upper course of the Aisne in Champagne, a few miles south of Varennes, so fatal to the royalists.

Dumouriez and Kellermann drew up their young troops, who had lately shown signs of panic and mutiny, on the commanding heights of Valmy. In the mists of a September morning the Prussians opened the attack with a heavy cannonade. The French, animated by their generals, stubbornly held their ground; and when the Prussian columns, led by their king, advanced up the

heights, they were met by a great shout of "Vive la nation," and by deadly volleys which threw them back. The Prussians were drawn off by the cautious Duke of Brunswick, and France was saved. The allies had been suffering from sickness during the early autumn rains, and in a few days they all retreated beyond the French frontiers. Brunswick thought that a temporary retreat might save Louis's life at Paris; but Valmy cowed the Prussian soldiery just as much as it inspirited the French recruits. This effect was doubled when the daring French General Custine penetrated as far as Mainz on the Rhine, where the populace welcomed him, and even to the rich city of Frankfurt-on-the-Main (October 1792). Valmy influenced the course of history far more than many vaster conflicts. For on the Flemish frontier at Jemappes (November 6, 1792) Dumouriez led his inspirited troops, chanting the Marseillaise, to a brilliant victory, in spite of terrible charges of the Austrian cavalry. Mons, Brussels, and Antwerp fell before the French, everywhere welcomed as deliverers from the Austrian yoke.

The failure of the allies resulted from hidden causes. The jealousy of the Austrian and Prussian commanders would alone have rendered success difficult. Further, those States sent too small forces across the Rhine owing to their fear of a Russian attack on Poland. Thus the schisms in the European system weakened all efforts against France from the very outset; and the cautious plan of campaign adopted by Brunswick, though it corresponded to the needs of the political situation, played into the hands of resolute leaders like Dumouriez and Kellermann, and doubled the striking power of the French soldiery.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FIRST FRENCH REPUBLIC.

ALL Europe expected that two disciplined armies would scatter to the winds the disorderly bands of revolutionists. Valmy and Jemappes made heroes of the young French conscripts, and convinced the courts of Vienna and Berlin that Poland would be a more profitable field for their intervention. The revolutionists had also triumphed in the south-east; the army of the King of Sardinia was easily put to flight, and the people of Savoy, French in language and sympathy, desired to join the new French republic. But just as the brilliant successes of the French troops led them too far afield, and exposed them to imminent danger from a vigorous attack, so in Paris the overweening confidence which succeeded the panic of September led the revolutionists on to further deeds of folly and violence.

The cannon which proclaimed at Paris the victory of Valmy celebrated also the first meeting of the Convention and the establishment of the republic (September 21, 1792). It then divided itself into executive committees charged with the administration of war, finance, internal affairs, etc.[1]

[1] In order to break with the past, the Convention adopted a new calendar, so that the declaration of the republic on the autumnal equinox

At first the Girondists gained the chief power in the committees. Most of these men had desired a moderate Republic, and despite the September massacres they believed that the revolution was now finished. Their speeches were full of references to ancient Greece and Rome, and both they and the moderate men of the "Plain," relying on the support of the departments, were swept along by the tide of revolution. The men of the "Mountain," relying on the support of the Jacobins' Club and of the Paris mob, soon overpowered the Girondists and the "Plain"; these last soon helplessly followed rather than guided the course of events; while the men of the "Mountain" determined to put into practice all the principles of Rousseau with a violence which made their downfall only a question of time.

The Girondists hastened to accuse Robespierre of aiming at a dictatorship; and after this failed the "Mountain" charged the Girondists with seeking to split up France into federal republics; finally they sought to entrap these generous men by proposing the death of Louis as necessary for the safety of the republic.

Execution of Louis XVI.—The Girondists were in

of 1792 might date as the beginning of year 1 of the new era. The year was to be divided into twelve equal months, beginning from September 21, 1792, each month into three decades or periods of ten days called primidi, duodi, tridi, etc. The remaining five of the 365¼ days were to be festivals called "Sansculottides" (September 17-21), with an extra one each leap year. The months were called after the season of the year: — Vendémiaire (September 22 - October 21), Brumaire, and Frimaire; Nivose (December 22 - January 21), Pluviose, and Ventose; Germinal (March 20 - April 19), Floréal, and Prairial; Messidor (June 19-July 18), Thermidor, and Fructidor (August 18-September 16).

This calendar was discarded on January 1, 1806; but the metrical and decimal systems of measures and weights adopted by the revolution are still in general use over central Europe.

favour of mercy, and sought to gain time by proposing an appeal to the nation on this trial; but when they had to vote before a hostile crowd they too voted for death. Even Philippe, Duke of Orleans, who had taken his seat in the Convention under the name of Philippe Égalité, voted for the death of his royal relative—to the horror of all the deputies. The decree for the execution was carried by a large majority. On the same day Louis took an affecting farewell of his wife and children; and on the morrow (January 21, 1793), after sleeping peacefully in the Temple prison, he was conveyed to the guillotine in the executioner's cart through streets lined with troops. On the scaffold he began to say to the crowds, "I pray Heaven that the blood you are going to shed may not be on the head of France;" but the drummers drowned his words, and the fall of the knife ended his well-meaning but unhappy career.

His execution was a crime and a blunder of the first magnitude—a crime, because he had many times sacrificed his own chances of safety rather than employ force against his enemies; a blunder, because it at once leagued all the undecided powers against France, and added fuel to the flames of internal revolt. In fact, the Convention henceforth represented, not France, but only the extreme revolutionists of Paris; but their activity and their possession of power overawed the departments. Many of these were ready to rise against the regicides at Paris, but only La Vendée and Brittany were wholly united against them; for in most towns, as at Marseilles and Lyons, the rabble had overpowered the *bourgeoisie* and had the control of the National Guard in its own hands; and the south of France had been distracted by religious feuds, which caused much bloodshed. These divisions

enabled the revolutionists in Paris to take a bold tone, and by an aggressive foreign policy to identify themselves with the name and honour of France, so that all royalists were made to seem traitors to their country. Danton carried the Convention with him by his daring words, "Hurl down to the kings the head of a king as gage of battle."

The First Coalition.—Many Englishmen had viewed with delight the fall of the Bastille and the setting up of a constitutional monarchy in France; but the subsequent atrocities excited as lively an indignation, which Burke stimulated by his eloquence. The British Government, under the lead of Pitt, up to the end of 1792 desired to preserve a neutral policy; but in November and December 1792 the French Convention passed two aggressive decrees, the first throwing open the navigation of the Scheldt up to Antwerp, though the Dutch had been, with our guarantee, constituted guardians of it; and the second declaring that France would aid all peoples which desired to overthrow their governments. These aggressive movements at last forced Pitt from his policy of neutrality. The news of the execution of Louis XVI still further enraged the British people; while the French Jacobins thought they had the sympathies of the English, and only had to overthrow the English Government. In fact, the revolutionists had been intoxicated by their easy victories in the last autumn; and now the Convention madly declared war against Great Britain and Holland (February 1, 1793), against Spain (March 9), and received the declaration of war from the Empire (March 22).

Thus the headlong folly of the Convention brought France into collision with nearly all Europe at a time when the execution of the king had excited to revolt all

the districts between the Gironde and the English Channel. The peasants in those remote districts, especially in La Vendée, loved their lords and their priests, who lived among them in a simple patriarchal life; and when their sons began to be drafted off to fight for the hated revolution, they took up arms against it. Bordeaux and Caen offered an ineffectual resistance to the Paris government; but the peasants of La Vendée routed army after army sent against them in their densely-wooded country.

Defection of Dumouriez.—Matters went no better on the frontier. The successes of the French arms, especially the raid on Frankfort, had spurred on the Austrians and Prussians to new efforts. The loss of the battle of Neerwinden (March 18, 1793) obliged Dumouriez to evacuate Belgium. This talented general, who had hitherto occupied a position midway between the Girondists and the "Mountain" in French politics, now hated the Convention as much as he was suspected by it, and arrested the commissioners sent from Paris to depose him. Failing, however, to excite his troops against the Convention, he fled to the Austrians, followed by the young Philippe of Orleans, afterwards King Louis Philippe (April 3, 1792). This defection of Dumouriez still further discredited the Girondists, formerly his friends. In Germany the small French force under Custine had been driven from Frankfort by German troops, and part of his army was soon invested in Mainz (Mayence) by Prussian forces; after an heroic resistance of four months by Kléber, the French were allowed to march out with the honours of war on condition that they should not serve for one year against any army of the Coalition. They were, however, of almost equal use inside France in helping to stem the Vendéan insurrection.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REIGN OF TERROR.

" . . . the fierce and drunken passions wove
A dance more wild than e'er was maniac's dream."

COLERIDGE.

AT this time the military position of France seemed desperate. The fortress of Valenciennes had to surrender to the Austrians after a terrible bombardment, July 28, 1793, and the English forces under the Duke of York besieged Dunkirk. France was only saved from successful invasion by the incompetence of the Austrian and English commanders, and by the departure from Mainz of most of the Prussian troops for Poland to put down the rising of Kosciusko. In the interior the Vendéans were triumphant, and Lyons was successfully resisting the domination of Paris; in the south the royalists of Toulon had put that stronghold into the hands of the English (August 20); but each disaster only spurred on the extremists of the "Mountain" at Paris to more desperate energy.

Fall of the Girondists.—On the 2nd of June 1793 the men of the 'Mountain" had crushed their Girondist opponents in the Convention. Twenty thousand armed men, raised by the Jacobin "sections" of Paris, surrounded the Convention and forced the deputies to proscribe twenty-two Girondists who had sought the overthrow of Marat and the Commune. After this victory of the Paris rabble over

the national representatives, power passed from the coerced and mutilated Convention to ten members, who formed the Committee of Public Safety. The signature of three members rendered a decree of this committee valid. Such was the terrible instrument which replaced the unfortunate government of the Girondists. Their comrades fled to raise the departments against this new central despotism; but at Caen the rising was easily crushed, and the only practical outcome of their effort was that a young girl named Charlotte Corday, of twenty-four years of age, set out for Paris with a secret resolve to stab the bloodthirsty Marat. She forced her way to his room and stabbed him in his bath (July 13, 1793). "I have killed one man to save a hundred thousand" was her only defence, and she calmly perished by the guillotine. This act was fatal to the Girondist leaders. They fled through Brittany, and then to the Gironde, where they were hunted down one after another during the *Reign of Terror*, which lasted from September 1793 to July 1794.

In the Convention it was resolved that "Terror shall be the order of the day"; a "*levée en masse*" provided more than 750,000 soldiers; forced loans, and confiscations of property of all suspects, and fresh issue of assignats furnished money for the State, which further decreed a maximum price for all kinds of wares (September to October 1793).

Turning against the royalist suspects, the Committee of Public Safety first struck down the widowed Marie Antoinette. The common cart of the executioner conveyed her amid the insults of the Paris populace; but her eyes sought only for the disguised figure of an orthodox priest, who from an upper window was secretly to give her his blessing. On the scaffold, gazing at the

towers of the Temple prison, she said, "Adieu, my children; I go to rejoin your father." Thus her queenly dignity triumphed over all attempts to degrade her[1] (October 16, 1793).

The ex-queen was soon followed to the guillotine by the enthusiastic republican Madame Roland, who exclaimed as she looked at the statue of Liberty near by, "O Liberty, what things are done in thy name!" Next the laws were violated in order to hurry to death the surviving twenty-two Girondists remaining in Paris; on the scaffold they sang the "Marseillaise"[2] till their voices were, one after the other, silenced by the fall of the knife.

The Duke of Orleans, though an avowed republican, did not escape the fate which he had voted for his cousin the king. Still more bloody were the deeds of the committee in the provinces. Lyons, held by the moderates and royalists, was re-taken by the extremists, who shot down the garrison in batches and re-named the town "Commune Affranchi" (Freetown). In the west the Vendéans were gradually beaten down after desperate fighting; and platoon firings and drownings went on at Nantes in December 1793, until the victors themselves were sick of the work of loathsome revenge. On the south coast a young artillery lieutenant, Napoleon Bonaparte, by retaking a fort rendered the town and harbour of Toulon untenable; so Howe, taking with him some royalists, had to abandon Toulon to the vengeance of the extremists.

[1] In the records of the Madeleine is this entry, "Seven francs for the coffin of Widow Capet."

[2] They laid stress on the words—

"Contre nous de la tyrannie
L'étendard sanglant est levé.

The composer of the words and music of the Marseillaise, Rouget de Lisle, was a prisoner at this time, and only saved by Robespierre's fall.

Repulse of the Invaders.—Commissioners from Paris accompanied every French general with a guillotine, and death was the penalty for failure, or, as in Custine's case, for retreat. Indeed General Houchard, who by his success at Hondschoote obliged the Duke of York to raise the siege of Dunkirk, was guillotined for not pushing his advantage to the utmost. This frightful rule, which at any rate ensured the survival of the fittest, soon brought to the front vigorous young generals like **Jourdan**, who on the north hurled back the Austrian invaders at Wattignies (October 16, 1793); also Pichegru and Hoche, who on Christmas Day of 1793 stormed the oft-contested lines of Weissenburg in Alsace, and drove back Austrians and Prussians to the Rhine.

In the south Kellermann easily overran Savoy, whose inhabitants, French by race, again welcomed the republicans. With the exception of failure in the Pyrenees against the Spaniards, the year 1793 closed with victory everywhere for the Convention. The first part of the revolutionary wars had now closed with victory for the French arms after the series of reverses in the spring of 1793 and 1794 respectively; the battles in the autumn of 1793 and 1794 had in each case more than made up for the earlier failures.

Fall of the Hébertists and Dantonists.—In the year 1794 the calculating Robespierre was able to triumph over his remaining rivals the Hébertists and the Dantonists. The former were the atheistic party led by Hébert, who had for a time succeeded in suppressing religious worship. Bishops and priests had been deposed, churches pillaged, the sacred vessels melted down into money, and the church bells into cannon. The worship of Reason had been inaugurated on December 20, 1793, by an actress, who in the cathedral of Notre Dame ignited a huge torch symbolic of the light of philosophy. In the orgies which followed the

bodies of kings and heroes of France were torn up from their sepulchres at St. Denis, and cast into a common pit. From this depth of obscenity the philosophic Robespierre was determined to rescue the republic. He charged Hébert and his followers with seeking to degrade the republic, and hurried this obscene and delirious set of men to the guillotine (March 24, 1794). Next he turned against Danton and his followers, who were by this time counted moderate men for wishing to send to the guillotine only those who had been clearly proved guilty. "You condemn to death your own enemies," said Danton. "No," replied Robespierre, "and the proof is that you still live." A meeting of the two secret committees gave effect to Robespierre's enmity; and Danton, who twenty months before had overthrown Louis XVI in the Tuileries, now saw himself abandoned by the Paris populace. With him fell Westermann, who had led the mob to storm the Tuileries, and the witty journalist Camille Desmoulins, whose devoted wife soon followed him to the guillotine on the charge of trying to rescue her husband.

Robespierre now wielded dictatorial power without a rival. A convinced follower of Rousseau's theories, he decreed the worship of the Supreme Being, which he, as high priest, inaugurated by a public festival in the Tuileries garden (June 8, 1794). In spite of this he demanded greater rigour against suspects; they were accused at ten in the morning, sentenced at two, executed at four.

Death of Robespierre.—But the Parisian mob was growing tired of bloodshed, and also alarmed, for no one felt safe, however poor. So the remaining members of the Convention, emboldened by their fears, at last combined to shout down the dictator; he and twenty-one of his devotees were hurried to the guillotine amidst general

rejoicings. Thus fell the inflexible tyrant of the revolution, who, with the pitilessness of a fanatic, had waded through seas of blood to attain "the republic one and indivisible" (July 28 [10th Thermidor], 1794).

This "Thermidorian" reaction later on suppressed the terrible Commune of Paris, the two secret committees, and the Jacobins' Club.

(At this climax of the revolution we may pause to note the chief causes that brought matters to this pass. The first was the failure of Louis XVI to reform the fiscal and agrarian abuses of the old régime—a failure largely due to the selfishness of the privileged classes and the "Parlements." The king's vacillating conduct in 1789 gave the victory to the reformers; while the jealousy which both he and the Assembly felt for Mirabeau prevented the building up of a strong ministry. The attacks on the Church completed the breach between the king and the reformers, who thenceforth distrusted him and reduced his power to a shadow. The constitution of 1791 was unworkable save by patient and tolerant men; and, owing to the Jacobins' Club, the elections of 1791 gave power to inexperienced enthusiasts, who thereafter worked for war. The results of the war of 1792 are incalculable. It enabled the extremists to depose and afterwards execute the king as a traitor to the nation; and the military crisis of 1793, largely resulting from that crime, led to the ascendency of fanatics, who beat back the allies, drenched France with blood, and finally guillotined one another. Selfishness and shortsightedness in the first stage, vacillation and weakness in 1789, party jealousy and discord in 1790-91, the triumph of fanaticism in 1792-93—these are the characteristic *motifs* in the working up of the revolutionary drama to its climax.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUCCESSES OF THE CONVENTION.

THE massacres of September 1792 have often been excused on the ground of the frenzy of terror caused by the invasion of foreigners and emigrant nobles, and by the Vendéan rebellion; but no such excuse can be urged for the continuance of the Reign of Terror into 1794, for the successes of the French arms everywhere in 1793 were followed up, with but few checks, in 1794. Pichegru routed British and Austrians at Tournay, May 22, and Jourdan gained over the latter the great victory of Fleurus, June 26, 1794, which laid Belgium a second time at the feet of the French. On the Alsatian frontier the French arms, after a check at Kaiserslautern in May, were successful at the same place in July; and in October 1794 three victorious French armies occupied all the Austrian, Prussian, and German lands up to the bank of the Rhine. In the south the republicans succeeded in driving the Spaniards back as far as the Ebro, so that Spain, joining in the Peace of Basle, ceded San Domingo,[1] and soon became the ally of the republic. On the sea alone were the French unsuccessful in an important engagement with Lord Howe (June 1, 1794); but on the Alpine frontier the Committee of Public Safety so far forgot its title as to plan the invasion of Italy. These successes on land were continued in 1795. Pichegru having in the pre-

[1] Part of this large island had been under Spanish rule.

ceding autumn reduced the strongholds of Holland in face of the inefficient Duke of York, rapidly overran the whole country during the severe frost of January 1795; and the Dutch fleet was surrendered at its anchorage off the Helder by order of the Dutch Government. The stadholder fled to England, and Holland was declared a republic allied to France.[1]

The spoils of Belgium and of the Rhine provinces furnished treasure to the French Republic, which was soon lured away from its early determination not to annex territory; but a far worse example of territorial greed had been set in Eastern Europe, which directly contributed to the Peace of Basle.

Partitions of Poland.—The Czarina Catharine had no sooner seen Prussia and Austria occupied with the French war than she undermined the new constitution of Poland, and made her influence paramount in that unhappy state. In this predicament Frederick William II, perfidiously abandoning the Polish constitution and alliance, secretly joined Catharine in a second partition of Poland (1793), behind the back of the new Austrian monarch Francis II. Russia absorbed Podolia, and parts of Lithuania and the Ukraine, while Prussia gained Posen, Thorn, and the port of Danzig. Disgusted at her exclusion from the spoliation, Austria intrigued secretly with Russia for a third partition of the remains of Poland. The Prussian king, suspecting this, hastened to make peace with France (Treaty of Basle, April 1795), so that he might have his hands free for more profitable designs on his eastern neighbour.

The Polish patriot Kosciusko had made a last desperate stand for liberty near Warsaw; but Praga was stormed and sacked by the Russian general Suwarroff, whose men

[1] This alliance was followed by the ultimate loss of Ceylon, Cape Colony, and Demerara to the British Empire, which was then growing also by the gradual settlement of New South Wales.

massacred most of the armed defenders. Russia gained all Poland up to the banks of the Niemen and the Bug; Austria received West Galicia, while Prussia acquired New East Prussia and Warsaw. This was a profitable bargain for Frederick William II; for now abandoning his Austrian allies in the French war, in the Treaty of Basle (April 5, 1795) he surrendered to France the small and scattered portions of Prussia on the left (west) bank of the Rhine, and allowed France to occupy the German States west of the Rhine, while he himself gained land about equal in extent to half the modern province of Poland.

Close of the French Convention.—In Paris the extreme party made a last desperate effort to excite the *sansculottes* of the suburb St. Antoine against the Convention; and for hours they thronged and menaced the deputies, until about midnight the troops of the moderate "sections" (quarters) of Paris drove out the rioters (May 20, 1795). After this triumph of order the law against suspects was repealed, the Revolutionary Tribunal suppressed, and the name of the Place de la Révolution changed to Place de la Concorde. In the departments the terrorism of the Jacobins had only gained a brief triumph over the majority; and now at Toulon, Marseilles, and elsewhere, many terrorists met their just fate.

The Convention was equally successful against a last royalist attempt on the coast of Brittany. After the fall of Robespierre the valiant young general Hoche, who had been imprisoned by the jealous dictator, was sent to pacify La Vendée and Brittany. In July 1795 a British fleet brought 1500 emigrant nobles to raise the country against the republic; but the skilful Hoche blocked them in the small peninsula of Quiberon, and 600 of them were shot down after surrender.

The Convention now sought to terminate its labours but perpetuate their results.

Accordingly it annulled the democratic constitution of 1793, and entrusted the executive power to a Directory of five members, of whom the best known were Barras and Carnot, who "organised victory" for the armies of 1793. It further entrusted legislative powers to two councils, one of 500 members to propose laws, and the other of 250 older members to examine and pass them; and it decreed that two-thirds of these councils must be members of the Convention. This last clause aroused the opposition of royalists and moderates alike—in fact, of all who hoped to seize the reins of government. The Convention was, on October 5, 1795, menaced by 30,000 men from the sections of Paris; but the young Bonaparte, who was charged with the defence of the Convention by Barras, swept the approaches to the Tuileries with volleys of grape-shot from the cannons which he skilfully placed there. The speedy dispersal of these malcontents marks the close of the period of street fights. The volcanic forces had exhausted themselves, and the material thrown up to the surface was being gradually clothed with verdure. The vast majority of Parisians wished for peace and quietness, and the million or thereabouts of new peasant proprietors soon gave to France that stability which she has since enjoyed in spite of Paris revolutions. Thus on October 26, 1795, the Convention was able quietly to dissolve itself, and hand on the executive powers to the Directory.

Legislation of the Convention.—Amidst all the turmoil of civil and foreign wars the Convention had found time to introduce the famous metric system of weights and measures, which is now used by so many countries on the continent, to organise a system of national education, to

consolidate the public debt, and to prepare the Civil Code: this, among other things, decreed that heirs must share equally the property left to them—a law which has aided the distribution of wealth, but checked the growth of population, in France.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF THE REVOLUTION

1789.

May 5. Assembly of States-General.
June 17. Called National Assembly.
,, 20. Oath of the Tennis Court.
,, 23. Royal sitting: Mirabeau's defiance.
,, 27. Fusion in one Chamber.
July 11. Dismissal of Necker.
,, 14. Capture of Bastille.
Aug. 4. Feudal privileges abolished.
,, Declaration of the Rights of Man.
Oct. 5. Insurrection of women.
,, 6. King and Assembly come to Paris.

1790.

Jan. 15. France divided into Departments.
March. Judicial and commercial reforms.
July 12. Civil constitution of the clergy.
,, 14. Feast of Pikes.
Aug. 31. Fighting at Nancy.
Sept. Anarchy.
,, Flight of Necker.

1791.

April 2. Death of Mirabeau.
June 20. Flight to Varennes.
July 17. Martial law enforced by Lafayette.
Aug. 27. Declaration of Pillnitz.
Sept. 14. Louis accepts new Constitution.
,, 30. Close of the *Constituent Assembly.*
Oct. 1. **Legislative Assembly** meets.
,, Massacres at Avignon.

1792.

Feb. Terror in rural districts.
,, Camp at Jalès.
,, League against France.
March. Girondist Ministry.
April 20. France declares war on Austria.
June 20. First invasion of Tuileries.
July 26. Manifesto of Duke of Brunswick.
,, 29. Marseillais arrive in Paris.
Aug. 10. Commune ousts Municipality.
,, 10. Massacre of Swiss.

1792 (*continued*).

Aug. 10. Fall of the Monarchy.
,, 23. Prussians take Longwy.
Sept. 2-6. Massacres in prisons of Paris.
,, 20. Valmy.
,, 21. Opening of **Convention**, and Republic proclaimed.
Nov. 6. Victory of Jemappes.
Dec. Trial of Louis XVI.

1793.

Jan. 21. Death of Louis XVI.
Feb. First Coalition against France.
March. Vendéan rising.
,, 18. Defeat of Neerwinden.
April 3. Desertion of Dumouriez.
June 2. The twenty-two Girondists arrested.
July 13. Assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday.
,, 26. Surrender of Valenciennes.
,, ,, Toulon delivered to the English.
Oct. Reign of Terror begins.
,, 9. Lyons captured by Jacobins.
,, 16. Victory of Wattignies, and death of Marie Antoinette.

1793 (*continued*).

Oct. 31. Death of the twenty-two Girondists.
Nov. 10. Goddess of Reason.
Dec. 19. Toulon retaken.
,, Defeats of the Vendéans: massacres at Nantes.
,, 25. Victory of Weissenburg.

1794.

March 24. Execution of the Hébertists.
April 5. ,, of the Dantonists.
June 10. Terror increases in Paris.
,, 26. Victory of Fleurus.
July 28. Execution of Robespierre (Thermidorian reaction).
Oct. 6. French enter Cologne.
Dec. Conquest of Holland by Pichegru.

1795.

April 5. Peace of Basle.
May 20. Jacobin rising crushed (1st Prairial).
July 20. Royalists crushed at Quiberon.
Oct. 5. Malcontents scattered by Bonaparte.
,, 26. Convention hands on its powers to **Directory.**

CHAPTER IX.

WARS OF THE DIRECTORY.

THE five Directors entered (October 25, 1795) on their duties of governing France in the Luxemburg palace, where there was not even a writing-table left: the two councils, or Chambers of Deputies, occupied the Tuileries. The assignats had sunk to nearly a thousandth part of their nominal value; the masses were furious that, after all the revolutionary struggles, bread was still dear; and the Directory soon had to face royalist and Jacobin attempts. Hoche put down a last rising by the Vendéan chief Charette in March 1796; and a communistic conspiracy headed by Babœuf to assassinate the Directors, and divide all property equally, was also nipped in the bud in the following May.

The vigour of the Directors, especially of Barras at the head of the police, and of Carnot, who had organised victory in 1793-94, soon made itself felt in the improvement of trade and finance.

Meanwhile on the Rhine the inactivity of Pichegru had brought reverses to the French arms, and Jourdan had to retreat behind the Rhine before the superior forces of the Austrians and Imperialists. But in 1796 Jourdan and the able Moreau, who had replaced Pichegru, with two large armies overcame all resistance, and penetrated into the

heart of Bavaria. Jourdan, however, neglected to join Moreau on the Upper Danube; and, being suddenly overpowered by an able strategist, the Archduke Charles, at Amberg, and again at Würzburg (September 1796), he was forced to lead his army back beyond the Rhine, badly harassed by the peasantry. Moreau, who had captured and requisitioned Munich, hereupon made a skilful retreat through the passes of the Black Forest, and so saved his army from serious disaster; but, as another young general said, "It was only a retreat." In fact, though Hoche replaced Jourdan and in the next year gained the victory of Heddersdorf over the Austrians, the decisive blows of the war were to be struck, not on the Rhine, but in Italy by the young general who sneered at Moreau.

Bonaparte.—Born in 1769 at Ajaccio, Bonaparte was an Italian on his father's side and a Corsican through his mother's family. In spite of his education at the military school of Brienne, he at first joined the patriotic Corsicans who sought to drive out the French; but, dazzled by the career which the French republican armies offered to enterprising officers, he threw in his lot with the Paris Jacobins, to whom he rendered signal service by aiding in the capture of Toulon (December 19, 1793). His connection with the Robespierres brought him into danger after the Thermidorian reaction; but he was set at liberty, and proceeded to Paris, where he saved the Convention by his "whiff of grape-shot" (October 5, 1795). These eminent services, and his marriage with the young widow Josephine Beauharnais, helped to gain him the important command of the French army in Italy. Joining to his splendid military talents the shrewdness of a born diplomatist, the young general saw that the kingdom of Sardinia, after the loss of Savoy and Nice, could easily be detached from the

Austrian alliance, and that the latter cumbrous power could then soon be stripped of her rich Italian province of Milan.

Italy in 1796.—The well-known sarcasm of Metternich uttered after 1815, that Italy was "only a geographical expression," would have been still more applicable in the time of peace which succeeded the Austrian War of Succession (1748-1792). The district between Lake Maggiore and the fortress of Mantua (called the province of Milan) was held by the Austrians directly, and the Duchy of Tuscany was ruled by an Austrian prince. The rich kingdom of Naples, held by a descendant of the younger branch of the Spanish Bourbons, was, both socially and politically, sunk in the torpor of the Middle Ages; while the feeble opposition which the French were to meet in the States of the Church soon revealed the corruption and helplessness of the Papal rule. The governments of north Italy could be called good only by contrast with central and south Italy. The King of Sardinia, who ruled over Piedmont as well as the island of Sardinia, had speedily lost his hold of Savoy, from which his family took its name; and the French occupation of Nice left him with little desire to fight them. The republics of Venice and Genoa were but the shadows of their ancient strength and glory; the former, arbitrarily ruled by its Doge, had no naval or military strength, though it possessed the eastern half of the present province of Lombardy, as well as all "Venetia." A brother of the Bourbon King of Naples was Duke of Parma. The Duchy of Modena and the tiny republics of Lucca and San Marino completed the motley picture of the map of "Italy." It was the field where France and Austria, Bourbon and Hapsburg, had for centuries striven for predominance.

Campaign in Italy (April 1796–April 1797).—The

young adventurer determined that the conquest of this group of ill-organised provinces should be his stepping-stone to power. The French armies were everywhere in want of money to carry on the war, but they had, what their opponents lacked, enthusiasm; and Bonaparte in his proclamation openly held out to them the rich spoils of Lombardy to inflame their courage. Received by his officers at first with pity for his youth and pallor, he at once roused their confidence and astonishment by his daring plan of campaign. Suddenly crossing from the Italian Riviera over the Maritime Alps near Savona, he defeated the astonished Austrians three times in five days (April 1796); and then falling on the Sardinian army he twice routed it also. "Soldiers," said the young general in one of his pithy proclamations, "you have won five victories in a fortnight; but you have done nothing yet." The kingdom of Sardinia cut in half, and separated from its Austrian allies by this irruption, now definitively yielded up Nice and Savoy.

Again Bonaparte pitted the vigour of his twenty-seven years against his Austrian antagonist Beaulieu, who was seventy years old. With all the dash of their youthful general the French troops attacked the bridge of Lodi, three hundred paces long, and defended by twenty cannon. Their cavalry, sent up the river, found a ford and attacked the Austrians at a time when the carnage on the bridge left victory hanging in the balance. Equal success crowned Bonaparte's attack on the next Austrian line of defence on the Mincio river above Mantua, for Beaulieu had to leave Milan to its fate and fall back on the Mincio. The fords of this river were forced, and the shattered Austrian army hurled back into the Tyrolese valley. Mantua was invested, and Bonaparte was master of North Italy (May

1796). Though he had proclaimed that he came to liberate the Italians, yet he now enriched the Paris treasury and his own soldiers at their expense; he also began the practice of sending the best pictures, sculptures, and manuscripts to enrich the Louvre, which became the national museum in November 1793.

The government of Vienna, anxious to save Mantua at all costs, sent an Austrian army, under Wurmser, from the Rhine into Italy. He divided his forces by Lake Garda; and though he revictualled Mantua, yet Bonaparte routed the two divisions one after the other, at Lonato and Castiglione. Another defeat at Bassano shut up Wurmser in Mantua. In October 1796 the Austrians sent yet another army under Allvinzi to rescue this fortress. A night attack on this relieving force as it lay protected by marsh and river near Arcola was at first repulsed (November 1796); Bonaparte himself was hurled from the bridge and barely saved by his men. Two days of hard fighting, however, inflicted on this newly-raised army a loss of 20,000 men. In January 1797 Allvinzi, collecting all available forces, again attempted to relieve the principal fortress of Italy; but he was entirely defeated at Rivoli on the Adige with heavy losses in prisoners (January 1797); another Austrian corps under Provera laid down its arms; and finally Wurmser surrendered at Mantua with 21,000 men (February 2, 1797).

Between April 1796 and April 1797 Bonaparte in sixty-seven conflicts and fourteen pitched battles had crushed the Austrian power in North Italy. By taking full advantage of their hesitation and routine, Bonaparte had routed four Austrian generals with forces more than twice his own. His rapid concentrations overcame their scattered forces one after the other, as brilliantly as Fred-

erick the Great had crushed the allies in his best Silesian campaigns. But this first Italian campaign was the cause of all the future woes to Europe. Seeing the ease with which the old political and military systems were pulverised by the concentrated power of the new era, the young general formed plans of continental conquest, which he afterwards nearly realised. If he himself wielded the new power which the Revolution was consolidating in his adopted country, could he not extend the new ideas of government over all the continent, in place of the old systems crumbling to decay? Such was the horizon widening out with each victory to the ambition of a clear-sighted, powerful, and unscrupulous nature.

His requisitions in a rich country roused many revolts of peasants and citizens against their "deliverers"; but this same system made the officers and soldiers devoted to him instead of to the Republic, and he assumed a bold and independent tone towards the Directory in Paris.

Entering the States of the Church, he met with the tamest opposition from the Papal troops, and by the treaty of Tolentino (February 1, 1797) he gained the cession of Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna. These last-named districts also allied themselves to France under the name of the Cispadane Republic. Lombardy became the Transpadane Republic. Tuscany, though it was an ally of the French Republic, was overrun, and all English property at the port of Leghorn was seized: this was followed up by the delivery of Corsica from the British, and by an alliance with the Genoese. Everywhere the art treasures of Italy were sent to enrich the galleries and museums of Paris.

Treaties with the Pope and the King of Sardinia having secured his rear, Bonaparte in March 1797 traversed Venetia with 50,000 men to attack Austria from the south.

On the banks of the Tagliamento the best general of Austria, the Archduke Charles, at first inflicted a check on the French; but he was afterwards surprised and thrown back across the Carnic Alps. The daring young Bonaparte, pressing across this natural barrier, then carried the gorges of the Noric Alps, and his advanced posts reached Semmering, only some fifty miles from Vienna. He was unsupported by the French armies on the Rhine, which ought to have invaded Austria by the valley of the Danube, and the Tyrolese peasants, infuriated by pillage, had checked his lieutenant Joubert. A bold resistance might have entrapped the adventurous Bonaparte in the Alps, but the timid Viennese cabinet agreed to the preliminaries of peace at Leoben (April 18, 1797).

Meanwhile on the Rhine the badly-equipped republican army under Hoche was burning with impatience to rival the deeds of Bonaparte's troops; but Hoche and Moreau, after gaining some successes and throwing the Austrians back on the Maine, were stopped by the news of the peace. The premature death of Hoche left Moreau as Bonaparte's only rival in the confidence of the French soldiery.

Before peace was ratified at Campo Formio in the autumn, the people of Verona rose against the French troops who occupied this and other cities of the Venetian Republic; and though the Venetian senate offered reparation, Bonaparte declared war, and his troops easily occupied Venice.

While her Ionian islands went to France, her rich main land territory with Istria and Dalmatia was offered by Bonaparte as a bribe to Austria in the shameful treaty of **Campo Formio** (October 17, 1797). Austria in return ceded her distant and troublesome Netherlands to France, but gained lands near her southern and western borders. She thus re-

coupled herself at the cost of the Holy Roman Empire and Venetia; but her gains only roused the jealousy of Prussia and Bavaria. So skilfully did Bonaparte sow discord in central Europe; and as he said, "I have only *lent* Venice to the Emperor."

Curses on France were hurled forth by the Venetians; and when the ex-doge Manin was about to take the oath of allegiance to Austria, he fell senseless to the ground.

A congress was also to assemble at Rastatt to reorganise the "Empire," and the "Emperor" bound himself by a secret clause in the treaty of Campo Formio to use his endeavours to secure to France the Rhine boundary.

Disorder in Paris.—In the preceding September (Fructidor 1797) a *coup d'état* had taken place in Paris. The renewal of the Councils of State at the late elections had brought up a royalist majority to Paris. But Hoche and Bonaparte, the former from conviction, the latter from policy, determined to prevent the ascendency of the royalists; and General Augereau, sent by the latter, surrounded the councils with 12,000 soldiers and arrested many royalists; several of them were sent to die at Cayenne, journals were suppressed and elections were annulled. Thus the royalist reaction was crushed, but in a manner fatal to the republic —as Bonaparte soon showed. In fact, France was still in the utmost disorder; and the Directory was now obliged to acknowledge a bankruptcy, allowing only one-third of the National Debt to be retained.

French Interventions.—The young conqueror of Austria had acquired for the French Republic what no one of its monarchs had ever gained—the Rhine frontier; but money was needed for the grand plans of Eastern conquest which Bonaparte was revolving. It was found by the pillage of Switzerland and of Rome. Such was the change which

had come over the policy of France and the spirit of the republican armies.

The murder of the French General Duphot was the pretext for the occupation of Rome, which furnished rich treasures in art and specie, and led to the deposition of the Pope and the proclamation of the Roman Republic.

Switzerland.—The constitution of the thirteen Swiss cantons[1] had always been republican; and their independence of the "Empire" had been finally recognised at the Peace of Westphalia (1648).

The councillors who governed Berne were, however, chosen from only a few patrician families, and Berne had rule over Vaud and part of Aargau. The former of these now (1798) rose against the Bernese rule, and the death of a few Frenchmen gave the Directory the desired opportunity for interfering. The internal divisions favoured the French invaders, and General Brune occupied Berne after brave but unavailing resistance. The Swiss Confederation then was remodelled in cantons enjoying equal privileges under a constitution framed on the French model with five Directors. The opposition of the "forest" cantons was overcome after a gallant defence.

Geneva and Mühlhausen with their districts were added to France, and specie and stores worth 40,000,000 francs were seized at Berne. Much of this was sent straight to Toulon for Bonaparte's expedition to the East; and Bernese coins were long afterwards in circulation in Egypt.

[1] The Confederacy had grouped itself around the three "forest" cantons—Schwytz, Uri, and Unterwalden. In 1798 Mühlhausen, Geneva, and Neufchâtel were only allies of the Confederacy. The King of Prussia had since 1707 always been Prince of Neufchâtel.

CHAPTER X.

THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION.

THE French armies had crushed all opposition in southern and central Europe, but there was one power against which even Bonaparte was helpless—Great Britain. Our armies had failed miserably in Holland, owing to the incompetence of the Duke of York; but our fleets had never before been so superior to the French, and the command of the sea had enabled them to reduce the Dutch and French colonies except San Domingo. The Convention had equipped with great effort a fleet of twenty-six large ships at Brest; but Lord Howe's fleet encountered it off the Breton coast, broke its line, and sank or captured seven sail of the line (June 1, 1794). England was not only secure from French attack, but could by her subsidies arm and support the forces of the Coalition against France. Thus in 1795 Pitt had granted a loan of five millions sterling to the Emperor to enable him to continue the war on the Rhine against France; and henceforth England was able to build up Coalitions against France. English attempts against the French coast, as at Quiberon, and the French attempts to raise Ireland, were alike unsuccessful.

The Directory determined, however, again to struggle for the command of the sea, and compelled Spain, as well as hard-pressed Holland, to join in a naval war

against England. It hoped that this naval Coalition would humble the mistress of the seas, and so break up the Coalition on land, of which she was the mainspring. The hope was vain. Jervis and Nelson scattered the combined French and Spanish fleets off Cape St. Vincent, and Duncan defeated the Dutch off Camperdown (October 11, 1797).

Bonaparte had conceived a bitter hatred of the only Power which now defied the might of France, and menaced her borders. With his keen insight he saw that he must crush England in order to crush the Coalition, and must cut off her foreign trade so as to ruin a Power which could not be directly attacked. His Egyptian expedition is the first of his repeated attempts to conquer Europe through England, and to conquer England by starving her trade.

Many reasons impelled Bonaparte towards the East. Visions of Alexander the Great haunted his imagination—"I will conquer Egypt and India; then attacking Turkey, I will take Europe in the rear." His calmer judgment assured him that France would be hard pressed during his absence, and could then be rescued by the return of the conqueror of the East. The mutinies on the English fleets at Spithead and the Nore for a time paralysed his foes, and the spoils of the Bernese treasury helped to build a great fleet at Toulon. So in the spring of 1798 Bonaparte set sail with 25,000 picked troops. He reduced Malta, without any opposition from the degenerate knights of St. John; and by good fortune escaped Nelson's fleet, which sailed from Alexandria only the day before the French flotilla arrived.

Egypt was in 1798 nominally dependent on Turkey; but real power rested with the Mamelukes, a military order governed by twenty-four Beys; subject to these were Copts, Arabs, and Turks. Hoping to win over these subject races,

the versatile adventurer now gave out that he was a Mohammedan. "Is it not we who have destroyed the Pope, who said that men ought to make war on the Mussulmans?" but the Mohammedans were not deceived. Advancing on Cairo, the French came in sight of the Pyramids. "Think," said their general, "that forty centuries are looking down on you from the top of these Pyramids" (July 21, 1798).

The Mameluke cavalry dashed in vain on the French squares, which finally drove hundreds of them into the Nile. Cairo surrendered, and Bonaparte treated the inhabitants with the tact which he knew so well how to employ. The band of learned men chosen to accompany the expedition conducted valuable researches, and his engineers prepared to open up the country to European inventions. But he was soon imprisoned in his new conquest. Nelson's search for the French fleet had led him to the Syrian coast, but at last finding it at anchor (August 1, 1798) in Aboukir Bay, he thrust some of his ships between it and the shore, while the French rear line could not engage in battle. The explosion on the French flagship *L'Orient* decided the most dramatic sea-fight of modern times, by which the French fleet was virtually destroyed; only two battleships and one frigate escaped.

Undaunted by this blow, Bonaparte resolved for strategic reasons to attack the Turks in Syria; but he suffered a severe check at Acre, which was defended by the English fleet and by the Turkish garrison under Sir Sidney Smith. A relieving army of Turks was beaten by Generals Kléber and Junot in the battle of "Mount Tabor," but several desperate assaults on Acre failed; and, after a siege of sixty days, Bonaparte was forced to renounce further imitation of Alexander. Sore stricken by the plague, the

French army retraced its steps across the desert to Egypt, which had twice revolted. Never did his genius triumph over greater obstacles than now. With an army enfeebled by plague, defeat, and desert march, he yet drove a Turkish army from its entrenchments at Aboukir into the sea. During the exchange of prisoners which followed, Sir Sidney Smith sent to Bonaparte a packet of French newspapers, containing news of the French defeats in Italy and of the waning power of the Directory. Leaving Kléber in command of the weakened French forces, he successfully evaded the English cruisers and landed at Fréjus (October 9, 1799).

After gaining the battle of Heliopolis (March 20, 1800) Kléber was assassinated by a fanatic. His successor Menou was beaten by British troops at Aboukir Bay (March 1801), Cairo, and Alexandria; and after capitulation the surviving forces were brought back to France on British vessels Malta also fell into British hands (September 1800).

Outwardly, then, the expedition was a failure; for it neither upset British rule in India nor established a French colony in Egypt. But from Bonaparte's point of view it was a success. The brilliance of his adventures threw up in glaring contrast the tameness, meanness, and incompetence of the civilian rulers at Paris; and, arriving in France before the true state of affairs in Egypt was known, he found that country ready to acclaim him as dictator.

CHAPTER XI.

REVERSES OF THE DIRECTORY.

BONAPARTE'S wonderful good fortune brought him back to France (October 9, 1799) at a time when her affairs at home and abroad had fallen into dire confusion.

In Italy, Ferdinand IV, King of Naples, alarmed at French advances, joyfully received the English squadron, which had returned victorious from Egypt (1798). Entrusting his ill-organised forces to the incompetent and ill-starred Austrian General Mack, he at first drove out the French army under Championnet from Rome. The Directory, knowing the secret hostility of the King of Sardinia, sent French troops into Turin, whence the king fled with his family and treasure to Sardinia; and Championnet, now feeling his communications with France safe, resumed the offensive. He drove the Neapolitan army before him from Rome to Naples, where a popular revolution put an end to the effete and helpless rule of Ferdinand IV. The French forced their way into Naples despite the obstinate and patriotic defence of the lazzaroni; and under the name of the Parthenopean Republic, the south of Italy became practically subject to the French Directory (January 23, 1799). The Grand Duke of Tuscany was also deposed; and his duchy was declared a republic allied to that of France.

Rastatt. Second Coalition.—These enterprises were

extending the military responsibilities of France at a time when Austria, Russia, and England meditated an attack on the Directory. The discussion on German affairs had been long protracted. The astute French plenipotentiary, Talleyrand, succeeded in playing on the traditional rivalry of Austria and Prussia, and on the cupidity of the smaller German princes; while threats to revolutionise their States extorted servile obedience or lavish bribes. Gustavus Adolphus IV, who, after the murder of his father Gustavus III,[1] had ascended the throne of Sweden in 1796, in his capacity of Duke of Pomerania urged the German States to united action against France; but patriotism seemed extinct, for the German princes looked on while the French crossed the Rhine from Coblentz and reduced by starvation the Imperial fortress of Ehrenbreitstein in time of peace. In the Netherlands the young men rose against the French conscription; but Prussia (1798) gave them no help, and an English force only destroyed the sluices of the canal at Bruges. At last the news of Nelson's victory of the Nile encouraged the allies to attack the disturbers of Italy and Germany. Russia occupied the Ionian Islands in the hope of attacking Turkey from the west as well as the north, and Austria, supported now, as always, by English subsidies, prepared for war. The horrible assassination by Austrian hussars of the French ambassadors, as they were leaving Rastatt, embittered the whole course of the succeeding struggle.

At first the French line of defence, extending from

[1] Gustavus III had by a bold appeal to the people overthrown the power of the Swedish nobility, while he opened up all honours and employments to the citizen class; but he could not wrest from Russia Sweden's earlier possessions, and he was murdered by Ankerström, an accomplice of the nobles (March 1792).

Amsterdam to Naples, with Switzerland as a natural entrenched camp in the centre, was broken in by serious defeats.

By a newly-organised system of conscription, which has since become such a curse to all continental States, France sought to raise large forces for this line of defence. But these young levies were at first no match for the numerous armies of Austria and Russia. Jourdan, who had ventured through the Black Forest, was routed by the Archduke Charles at Stockach, and thrown back on the Rhine. In Italy Schérer was beaten by the Austrians at Magnano (April 5, 1799); and the skilful Moreau could not stay the onset of the Austro-Russian forces under the terrible Suwarroff, who entered Milan in triumph (April 28, 1799). Another French army, marching up from Naples and Rome, was crushed by Suwarroff on the historic banks of the Trebbia (June 1799) and thrown back into Tuscany; while Moreau fell back on Genoa. The Italians meanwhile regarded with indifference the return of their old masters in place of the French spoliators. These were further crushed by Suwarroff at Novi (August 15, 1799). The mushroom republics forthwith collapsed at Naples, Florence, and Milan, before the Austrian reaction.

Only in Holland was the French defence successful in keeping at bay an Anglo-Russian army under the Duke of York, who, after suffering a check at Bergen, made a truce and re-embarked his forces (October 18, 1799).

Campaign in Switzerland.—In Switzerland meanwhile the French under Masséna had been driven from Zürich by the Archduke Charles, and the mountaineers avenged themselves on their French "liberators"; but the jealousy of Austria for the Russian successes and policy brought about the withdrawal of the victorious Archduke

Charles from Switzerland down the Rhine in order to wage a separate campaign for the pursuance of her own political designs. In furtherance of this unwise policy Suwarroff was obliged to quit the Italian plains to join a Russian force already operating in the north of Switzerland. The French, who, owing to the apathetic defence of the Austrians, had secured the mountain passes of the Alps, were driven from an apparently unassailable position behind the Devil's Bridge, which they had destroyed; and the Russian troops, victorious, but in a sore plight, pressed down towards the Lake of Lucerne. Unable to cross this without boats, Suwarroff's men toiled painfully across the Swiss mountains to the valley of the Upper Rhine, where they arrived (October 8, 1799) shoeless and starving, with the loss of all their artillery. In seventeen days men accustomed only to level plains had crossed five chains of mountains, in order to support their countrymen in the north cantons around Zürich.

But after the Archduke Charles had marched down the Rhine, and before the arrival of Suwarroff, the isolated Russian force under Korsakoff had sustained a terrible defeat from Masséna. The latter after being reinforced hurled his 70,000 men against the smaller forces in and around Zürich, and shut Korsakoff in that town. The Russians with difficulty broke away with the loss of all their artillery and stores (September 26, 1799). Both Russian armies fell back on Germany, and the Czar Paul, who had ascended the throne in 1796, disgusted with his Austrian and English allies, closed the campaign, and soon came to an understanding with Bonaparte.

Thus the insane jealousy of the allies had paralysed their attack on the centre of the French line of defence when success seemed within their grasp; but in Italy the

Austrian Mélas utterly crushed Championnet, who was attempting to save Genoa; and the Austrians invaded the county of Nice. Italy seemed quite lost to France when Bonaparte landed.

In domestic affairs the Directory was in an equally critical condition: the disasters of its armies were visited on it, and the last *coup d'état* against the royalists had been followed by the ascendency of the Jacobin faction. The two Councils next revenged themselves on the Directory for its usurpation of sole power by declaring themselves permanent, and forcing three of the five Directors to resign (June 1799). The beaten French armies could now no longer live on conquered foes; and the Directory, in spite of progressive taxation which ruined the rich, had little money to send for the pay and equipment of its troops.

The new hard law of conscription provoked a fresh outbreak (called the "chouannerie") in Brittany, which the Directory sought to crush by the odious custom of taking hostages from mutinous villages. France was as disturbed and miserable as she had been at any time since the Reign of Terror.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CONSULATE.

The Coup d'état of Brumaire.—Everything was thus ripe for Bonaparte's designs when he returned to France as the "conqueror of Egypt." Taking counsel with one of the five Directors, Sieyès, the framer of more constitutions than any other man in all history, Bonaparte appeared before the Council of Ancients, or Senate, at St. Cloud. Sieyès and Barras had announced the resignation of their office; and the other three Directors were compelled to follow (November 9, or 18 Brumaire, 1799).

Alarmed at the approaching dictatorship, the Jacobin majority of the Council of Five Hundred refused on the next day to modify the constitution of the year III (1795); and Bonaparte was thrust out of the hall with cries of "outlaw!" "Down with the new Cromwell!" In this predicament Bonaparte was saved by the address of his brother Lucien Bonaparte, president of this Council. He, under pretence that the Jacobins were paid by England, persuaded the very troops whose duty it was to guard the Council to file in and disperse it. A few deputies assembled in the evening and nominated Bonaparte with Sieyès and another nonentity as *consuls;* for Bonaparte still wished to figure as a republican, and had selected these two as tools whom he could at any time cast aside.

Only five years had elapsed since the Reign of Terror had struck down every individual who had become prominent; but never in the whole of human history was the power of one will to triumph so completely over the mediocrity of the many. The revolutionary enthusiasm of 1789 had been exhausted by the insane jealousies of the Reign of Terror; and the somewhat vulgar tyranny of the "lawyers" of the Directory made men long for a government which would efficiently repel foreign foes, while retaining and consolidating the principles of 1789. Bonaparte skilfully availed himself of the interest inspired by his extraordinary career to rise above all competitors for power, whether civil or military; and France gladly acquiesced in the violence done to her republican constitution. The transition to personal rule was very swift. The second and third Consuls retired to make way for two others who accepted the predominance of Bonaparte. Sieyès' new and complicated constitution soon showed itself to be the mere shadow which Bonaparte intended it to be, whereas he used his extensive powers to conciliate important classes who had been crushed by the Directory. Priests were now required only to promise obedience to the constitution, the odious law of hostages was repealed, and La Vendée and Brittany were at last pacified; while the victims of the Directory were recalled from Cayenne. The new order of things had been accepted by an immense majority of votes in a plebiscite. The military situation offered Bonaparte a still readier means of distinction.

Marengo.—The victorious Austrian general Melas was investing the French forces of Masséna in the city of Genoa, where they were at last obliged by hunger to capitulate. Bonaparte, at the head of 40,000 men in Switzerland in May 1800, determined to stop their

successes, and was in a position to make a dramatic stroke. After secret and careful preparations he led his forces over the Great St. Bernard pass. The cannon, placed in the hollowed-out trunks of trees, were dragged over the snowy slopes by a hundred men each. Other French divisions crossed the St. Gothard and Mont Cenis passes, and the combined forces fell on the astonished Austrians. The main body of Austrians was marching from Genoa to rally other scattered forces against this sudden irruption from the Alps; but Bonaparte spread out his troops so that they were forced back on all sides by the Austrian attack. When the day seemed lost[1] Desaix arrived with 6000 fresh men, and their onset, followed by the brilliant cavalry charge of Kellermann on the Austrian flank, turned a defeat into a great victory. The honours of the day properly belong to Kellermann and to Desaix, who fell at the head of his men. A whole Austrian division laid down its arms, and Melas hurriedly signed at Alessandria a convention by which he yielded Genoa, Piedmont, and Milan, while he retired beyond the Mincio.

North Italy was regained at Marengo (June 14, 1800).

Hohenlinden.—Meanwhile in Bavaria, Moreau, though hampered by Bonaparte's instructions, had gained some unimportant successes on the Upper Danube. These he crowned by the great victory of Hohenlinden, near Munich, gained in a snowstorm on December 3, 1800. His 60,000 troops, occupying the difficult forest passes around Hohenlinden, were attacked in the front by 70,000 Austrians at the same time that a flank movement of a French column enclosed the Austrians in the rear.

[1] Desaix on his arrival said to Bonaparte: "One battle is lost, but it is only three o'clock: there is time to gain another."

The latter, now attacked in front and rear in this narrow passage, fled into the forest with terrible losses in men, artillery, and stores. Moreau followed up these brilliant manœuvres by a successful march, which brought him within seventy miles of Vienna itself.

Bonaparte after his triumph hurried to Paris to receive homage as the "victor of Marengo"; but the French army in Italy, left by him under General Brune, was soon in difficulties, so Bonaparte ordered General Macdonald to cross the Splügen pass in the middle of December. Avalanches carried away whole squadrons, but the suffering troops at last joined their comrades in Italy, after difficulties which eclipse those encountered in the passage of the St. Bernard by Bonaparte in May. The armies of Macdonald and Brune penetrated the Tyrolese valleys; and Austria, hard pressed in Tyrol and on the Danube, sued for peace. By the treaty of Lunéville (February 9, 1801) that of Campo Formio was practically renewed. Thus Austrian domination in Italy, lost in 1796 and regained in 1799, was again overthrown in 1800, save that Venetia was still subject to it; Tuscany went to the house of Parma. King Ferdinand of Naples consented, by the Treaty of Florence (March 1801), to close his ports to British trade and to cede to France part of Elba and a coast district of Tuscany. France also recognised the independence of the Batavian, Helvetic, Ligurian (Genoese), and Cisalpine Republics. The German princes dispossessed of their lands by the annexation of the Rhineland to France were to receive compensation in Germany. Clearly this could be found only among the Ecclesiastical States; and the land-hunger of its secular princes led to the **Secularisations** (February 1803), which wiped out those States and added to the domains of Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, and the lesser duchies and marquisates.

CHAPTER XIII.

EUROPE, 1801-1804.

The Armed Neutrality League.—The British contention that an enemy's goods might be seized on a neutral ship was met by a coalition of the Baltic powers. Nelson silenced the Danish fleet and batteries at Copenhagen and forced Denmark to retire from the league (April 2, 1801). The news of the assassination of the eccentric and tyrannical Czar Paul I. caused the dissolution of the league. His son Alexander returned to the British alliance, stipulating, however, that the chief Russian exports, hemp, flax, and timber, should not be counted contraband, and that no port should be considered in a state of blockade unless it were blockaded by a reasonably large force. These concessions restored the equilibrium of Europe.

A further disadvantage to France was the capitulation of the French army left by Bonaparte in Egypt, which, however, by generous terms was brought back to France on English ships (September 1801).

Peace of Amiens.—These events led to the well-known Peace of Amiens (March 1802), by which England retained only Trinidad and Ceylon, but was to cede Malta to the Knights; while France was to recognise the inde-

pendence of the Ionian Isles. On her part France was to retain all the Austrian Netherlands, Dutch Flanders, and her earlier gains, the Rhineland, Savoy, Nice, etc. Great Britain restored all the French coloniês taken in the war.

Yet Bonaparte was not satisfied. French troops continued to occupy Holland, and he soon meddled with the affairs of Switzerland and Italy; so that all Europe felt that the power and ambition of the First Consul might at any time provoke a war with the weak and disunited central powers.

In Austria the Archduke Charles sought to introduce beneficial reforms in the war administration which had so often proved its incapacity; but the failure of the hasty reforms of Joseph II had prejudiced Leopold II and the reigning monarch Francis II against all improvements; so this opportunity of strengthening the State afforded by these years of peace was lost. Austria had entered on the period of dull administrative routine which was undisturbed by the disasters of 1805 and 1809, by the death of Francis in 1835, and was only renounced in 1867.

Frederick William III (1797-1840).—The Prussian King, Frederick William II, had died in 1797, deep in disgrace and debt. His eldest son Frederick William III removed many of the scandals of the court and government; but he continued the alliance with, and dependence on, France. As yet without experience, though soon to gain it in the darkest hour of Prussia's history, the young king retained his father's ministers and policy until the lessons of his long and eventful reign led him to choose men like Stein and Hardenberg. For the present Prussia stood selfishly apart from the wars in which Austria and Germany were struggling for existence. Frederick William III hoped that their difficulties would be his opportunity. In 1803 he gained Münster, Paderborn, and Hildesheim. Early

in that year the Ecclesiastical States were being partitioned in accordance with the award of a special committee of the Imperial Diet. Bavaria gained the bishoprics of Bamberg, Augsburg, and Würzburg.[1] Hanover gained Osnabrück; Baden gained the Eastern Palatinate; Austria received Trent, Brixen, and other gains, with the northern parts of Constance and Basle; Würtemberg acquired small pieces of the Imperial lands. Thus the suppression of the Ecclesiastical States furnished booty in compensation for the losses of the smaller States on the west of the Rhine; all the old imperial free cities were suppressed except Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, Frankfurt, Augsburg, and Nuremberg, and all ecclesiastical land was handed over to secular princes. The German provinces secured by France were divided into four departments organised on the French model. So low had German national feeling sunk in these States and bishoprics, that the French connection was soon popular on account of the improved laws and equal justice which it brought. The same tendency was observable in the Belgic Netherlands, now divided into nine French departments.

Outside the French dominions the Treaty of Lunéville had guaranteed the independence of the Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics, and "liberty to their inhabitants to adopt what form of government they think fit"; but the masterful temper of the First Consul imposed on these States a form of government similar to his own. Taking advantage of the strife of Swiss parties, Bonaparte soon ventured on sending a large army under Ney into the Helvetic Republic, which he "reorganised," at the same time that he severed from it the canton Valais, so that he might have the Simplon

[1] These gains of Bavaria at the expense of the Franconian bishopric have ever since been retained by Bavaria. (see page 138, footnote).

route to Milan in his own hands. The federal system was imposed on the nineteen cantons and Bonaparte was styled "Mediator." Still more arbitrary was his conduct among the yielding Italians. He caused the Cisalpine Republic to remodel its constitution (September 1801) in the same reactionary way in which he was intending to prepare for rule in France. Four hundred and fifty representative Italians were invited to Lyons, where they humbly offered Bonaparte the presidency of their State, which he now named the Italian Republic. In a short time (1802) he definitely annexed Piedmont to France, and secured his hold over Genoa and Parma. Pope Pius VI had been taken as a prisoner to France, where he died in August 1799.

Reorganisation of France.—In France the First Consul had by his successes silenced all opposition from enraged Jacobins, discontented royalists, and disappointed friends; and he soon paved the way for personal rule. Over each department he placed a prefect and sub-prefects having very extensive powers which enabled them to control the old elective councils; they themselves were subject only to the Council of State in Paris. This new centralisation, useful though it was in promoting the unity of law over France, was soon to prove fatal to liberty. A new system of taxation and the foundation of the bank of France (1800) soon restored the national credit, while the famous **Civil Code** of 1804 for the first time brought law and its procedure within the comprehension of all citizens. Laws relating to the family, to property, and to contracts were rendered clear and precise in place of the chaos of musty precedents which had hitherto obscured justice. The five lawyers who drew up this exhaustive code of laws may indeed be said to have consolidated the principles of 1789;

but the honour of this great work soon passed from them: in 1807 the code was renamed the "Code Napoléon"—a name which recalled the work of supervision energetically undertaken by the great man who now controlled the destinies of France; and in truth it was designed to exalt the central power at Paris, soon to be wielded by an emperor. On the whole its influence was most beneficial, not only throughout France, but in all the countries which came under her influence. Indeed the Rhine province and some of the south German States retained many of its provisions till our own days. It may be said to have inaugurated a new era of law in all civilised continental States, for many rulers were compelled by popular pressure to copy its provisions.

Concordat.—Of a much more questionable character was Bonaparte's famous "Concordat" (1801-1802), by which he put an end to the schism in the French clergy caused by the foolish policy of 1790. Both nonjuring and constitutional bishops were now summoned to resign their sees into the hand of the Pope, and only a few nonjurors refused. Bonaparte's nominees were then reinstated by the Pope. This compromise enlisted the support of the new bishops and priests for Bonaparte's policy, although in the end it reduced the Roman Catholic Church in France to more complete dependence on the will of the Pontiff than had ever been acknowledged by the old national Church of France. Its present effect, however, was to give Bonaparte a firm supporter in every village priest. He also secured the support of the wealthy by allowing the return of the emigrant nobles and gentry who acknowledged his rule, and the restoration of those estates which had not been sold. A further pledge of the support of the wealthy was the institution of a "Legion of Honour" (1802).

This distinction was given in reward for conspicuous service to nearly 7000 persons. The organisation of public schools (*lycées*) completed the reforms by which a new France arose out of the wreck of the old *régime*. The conclusion of peace with Great Britain on favourable terms heightened his popularity, and an appeal to all electors of France resulted in the extension of his Consulate for his life, with power to nominate his successor. This was monarchy in everything but name.

Bonaparte's schemes in the New World.—Bonaparte had determined to extend his influence in the New World, where he had regained from Spain the vast territory of Louisiana in exchange for the dukedom of Etruria (May-August 1802).

The French army of the Rhine, still devoted to republicanism, was mostly drafted off to reconquer San Domingo. There the remarkable negro statesman Toussaint l'Ouverture had founded a republic in imitation of France. The island was easily overrun by the French, and the Spanish portion also seized. Toussaint was sent to France to perish in a dungeon in the Juras; but fever nearly annihilated the French force, and the island was regained by the negroes.

War with England (1803).—The annexation of Piedmont in time of peace, and the meddling of Bonaparte in the affairs of Holland, Switzerland, and Italy, had convinced the peace-loving Addington Cabinet that peace could not long be preserved. The exclusion also of British goods, not only from France, but from all countries under her influence, as Holland, North Italy, and even Spain, provoked savage attacks on the First Consul in the English press, which enraged his overbearing temper. On his side he complained that the English had not quitted Malta in

accordance with that Treaty of Amiens which he had himself violated by not evacuating Holland, Piedmont, and Switzerland. Colonial rivalries embittered these disputes, which ended in war (May 1803). The arrest of nearly 10,000 English persons travelling or resident in France showed the rancour of the First Consul against his foes. He raised money by the sale of the vaguely defined region of Louisiana to the United States for an insignificant sum, thus gaining the friendship of those growing communities, whose expansion up to and beyond the Mississippi was now assured. With his vehement and untiring activity the First Consul assembled in January 1804, at Boulogne, a vast flotilla of light vessels and flat-bottomed craft from the coasts of France and Holland. He sent Mortier with a powerful army to overrun Hanover, to the great alarm of the Prussians, who dared not protest. The neutrality of Naples was no bar to its invasion by another French corps, which it was compelled to support; while the friendly Batavian Republic was obliged to maintain a French army of occupation, and to furnish several hundred small vessels. Spain was forced, under pretence of the treaty of alliance with France, signed in 1796 (Treaty of St. Ildefonso), to pay 6,000,000 francs a month as subsidy; and thus the French war preparations were paid for by the forced tributes of friendly States. On the other hand, Bonaparte unsuccessfully offered Hanover to Prussia as a bribe for her alliance against England.

Murder of the Duc d'Enghien.—In France Bonaparte met only with adulation from the masses; the few who, like the courageous Madame de Staël, dared to criticise his conduct were exiled; and a conspiracy of the celebrated Breton leader Georges Cadoudal with the royalist suspect

Pichegru to murder Bonaparte was made the excuse for a horrible reprisal. Because some of the old royalist nobles were mixed up with this unsuccessful plot, Bonaparte sent a troop of cavalry rapidly across the Rhine into Baden, where the young Duc d'Enghien (Prince of the Bourbon House) was awaiting the outbreak of war. This young man was seized on German soil, hurried before a midnight tribunal at Vincennes, near Paris, and in an hour was shot by the side of a grave already dug to receive him (March 21, 1804). Soon afterwards Pichegru was found dead in prison, probably by suicide; Georges Cadoudal suffered death; and Moreau, who was thought to be implicated in the attempts against Bonaparte, was exiled to the United States.

Stained though its closing days were by the execution of the Duc d'Enghien, the period of the Consulate (November 1799 to May 1804) was one of glory and prosperity for France. The failure of the revolutionists to secure order at home and peace abroad led to the supremacy of a man whose skill in diplomacy and civil organisation equalled his prowess in war. No people in modern times has seen its enemies worsted, its factions quieted, and its whole life renovated, with so masterly a power as that displayed by the First Consul. The sagacity displayed in the Concordat and Civil Code, the diplomatic skill which deprived Great Britain of her maritime conquests and ensured the supremacy of France on the continent, and the wide sweep of his designs for founding a great colonial empire in Louisiana, India, and Australia, raise Napoleon Bonaparte to a pre-eminence in human affairs never seen since the days of Julius Cæsar.[1]

[1] For Bonaparte's colonial designs and the new institutions of France, see my *Life of Napoleon I.* vol. i. chaps. xii. xv.

CHAPTER XIV

THE FRENCH EMPIRE.

(MAY 18, 1804.)

"Another year—another deadly blow!
Another mighty Empire overthrown!
And we are left, or shall be left alone."
WORDSWORTH (1806).

IMMEDIATELY after the first of these tragedies, the memory of which he desired to efface by a new excitement, requests came from various public bodies to Bonaparte that he would assume imperial honours with the title of **Napoleon I**, and this was ratified by a plebiscite.[1] This was only the natural outcome of the consulship for life. "I found the crown of France lying on the ground," he said, "and I picked it up with my sword." The new emperor, who had all along desired to imitate the Cæsars, was recognised by most of the Powers, but not by Russia and England.

The man who thus terminated the revolutionary period and appropriated its forces to his own aggrandisement in Europe had, at thirty-five years of age, developed those wonderful powers of organisation which so long enabled him to triumph over the chaotic systems and armies of the continent. His cold and passionless intellect showed him every weak point of those around him; and he attached men

[1] Votes of all citizens: 3,572,000 votes were given.

to his service by the fear which he inspired as well as by the dog-like affection which a powerful nature often inspires in the weaker. He was essentially a Corsican in his aggrandisement of his family, his disregard of political principles, and in his moody humours. His outbursts of passion were generally calculated with a view to effect; and once he admitted that he did not allow it to "mount higher than this"—pointing to his chin. After his Russian campaign he sought to terrify the crafty Metternich during an interview by the words, "A man like me cares little about the life of a million of men." Yet the same man could win the admiration of the great German poet Goethe by the lucidity of his views on literature and art.

Even during his consulship Bonaparte had absorbed all real power from Senate, Tribunate, and Corps Législatif, while his ministers were no more than his head clerks.

But several external changes were now made. The republican "citoyen" was replaced by the old "monsieur" and "madame," and the republican calendar was soon abolished. Napoleon's relatives were made "grand dignitaries," and fourteen generals were raised to the rank of "marshals." Among these were Jourdan, the victor of Fleurus; Masséna, victor at Zürich; Bessières and Lannes; Ney, soon to be known as "bravest of the brave"; Napoleon's brother-in-law, Murat, the "beau sabreur"; Soult, the staunch opponent of Wellington; Augereau, the tactician; Davoust, the victor of Auerstädt; and Bernadotte, who was soon to be King of Sweden. Such was the galaxy of talent which Napoleon's genius now devoted to his own service.

His coronation at Paris (December 2, 1804) in Notre Dame was graced by the presence of Pope Pius VII.

When the Pontiff was about to crown him, Napoleon stopped him, and himself taking the crown from the altar, placed it on his own head. He soon, as **King of Italy**, received at Milan (May 1805) the iron crown of the Lombard kings; and his further revision of the French constitution distracted attention from the failure of his designs on England, which resulted from their complexity and the brilliant seamanship of Nelson.

The Third Coalition.—Having bereft Frenchmen of liberty at home, Napoleon had to dazzle them by glory abroad. The opportunity was soon found; for though he had failed against England, yet his power on land was greater than ever. Austria and Russia had been alarmed and annoyed by his annexation of Genoa (June 4, 1805), and by the occupation of Hanover. The Austrian sovereign, Francis II, tired of the empty title of *elective* Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, now answered Napoleon by proclaiming himself Francis I, *Hereditary* Emperor of Austria;[1] and English subsidies helped on the preparations for the Third Coalition of Austria, Russia, England, Sweden, and Naples. Prussia still held aloof, though the occupation of Hanover by Marshal Bernadotte was a thorn in her side; and the Southern German States, Bavaria, Baden, and Würtemberg, irritated as they were by Prussian and Austrian aggrandisement, had been gained over by Napoleon.

Ulm—Trafalgar.—Taking advantage of the scattered position of the Austrian forces, Napoleon prepared a master stroke which should overshadow his failure at Boulogne. Breaking up his camp in the autumn of 1805, he hurled a compact and well-organised host of 200,000 men against the 80,000 Austrians who were invading Bavaria. The latter were under Mack, who expected no attack on his

[1] This title he kept down to his death in 1835.

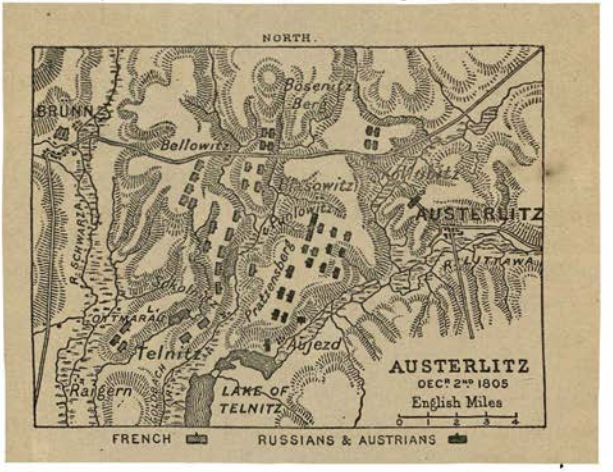
rear; then, bewildered by finding Napoleon's troops before and behind him, he shut himself up in the fortress of Ulm. After the loss of more than half his army in the field, he and his lieutenants were compelled to surrender with the remainder and 200 cannon (October 20, 1805).

This great victory on land was counterbalanced on the next day by Nelson's crushing defeat of the French and Spanish fleets in the glorious battle of Trafalgar, where the French lost no less than 7000 men.

Despairing of the French navy, Napoleon was more than ever convinced that he must conquer England through the continent; but 40,000 Russians had come to the aid of their distressed Austrian allies, and the Archduke Charles, foiled in Italy by Marshal Masséna, was advancing through Hungary to the defence of the capital. He was, however, not in time to cover Vienna, which Francis had determined to evacuate, so as to avoid a useless slaughter of the citizens. Meanwhile French armies from Italy, marching by the valleys of the Inn and Salza, had given Napoleon on the Danube a force able to meet the allies, even if they should be joined by Prussia. For this cautious Power had been irritated by the passage of Bernadotte's troops across part of her territory, and 180,000 Prussians might soon menace his communications with France; but the danger was only a spur to Napoleon to deal one of those lightning strokes by which he so often turned the course of history.

Austerlitz.—The allied forces, now numbering 80,000, among them being 15,000 Austrians, were lured on by Napoleon's inferiority in numbers to a hazardous attack on his right flank, which was protected by a lake. The allied centre, thus weakened, was furiously attacked by Soult with the main body of the French. Victorious here, Napoleon's troops wheeled round to the relief of their hard-pressed

right, and caught the Russians between two fires. These fled in utter rout between the two lakes or were made prisoners. The story that thousands sank under the ice is mythical (see my *Napoleonic Studies*, p. 374). On their



left the French were equally successful; and the loss of 15,000 killed and wounded, and of 20,000 prisoners, brought the Emperor Francis on the next day a humble suppliant to Napoleon for an armistice. The Russians were to retire from Austria.

The Treaty of Presburg—Fall of the Empire.—In the Treaty of Presburg which followed (December 26, 1805) the humbled Francis ceded Venetia to the kingdom of North Italy, besides Dalmatia and Istria, the other spoils of the former Venetian Republic. Tyrol and Suabia were to go to Bavaria, which was raised to the rank of a kingdom, as was its ally Würtemberg. The Holy Roman Empire, built up by Charlemagne, was now at last laid low by the greatest conqueror of modern times, who

often compared himself with the mediæval hero. This venerable structure was replaced by a new group of states called the Confederation of the Rhine, under the protectorate of Napoleon (July, 1806). Austerlitz changed the map of Europe. It placed the central and south German States, the whole of North Italy, and the eastern shores of the Adriatic, practically in the hands of one man. The King of Naples was dethroned to give place to Napoleon's brother Joseph; Holland was raised to the rank of a kingdom for his brother Louis; and his brother-in-law Murat received the duchy of Berg in North Germany.

War with Prussia.—Jena.—Pitt, the very soul of the Third Coalition, died of despair;[1] and the terrified Prussian court hastily changed its threatening front. Frederick William III was for a time satisfied by the bait of Hanover, which Napoleon held out as a return for the cession of Ansbach to Bavaria, and of Neufchâtel, destined for Berthier. But his spirited consort Louisa roused a warlike spirit in the Prussian army, which hoped to renew its glorious deeds under Frederick the Great; but its arms, drill, and discipline were utterly unfitted to withstand Napoleon's blows, and the spirit of the soldiers was dulled by long peace and barbarous drill. Stung to action at last by Napoleon's repeated insults and overbearing conduct, Frederick William III declared war. The old Duke of Brunswick was slowly concentrating his troops by the Thuringian valleys on Erfurt, when Napoleon, marching from Bavaria by the valley of the Saal, fell on the smaller part of the Prussian army at Jena (October 14, 1806), and broke it at once; meanwhile Marshal Davoust, sent by the emperor

[1] On hearing of Austerlitz Pitt said: "Roll up that map of Europe; it will not be wanted these ten years."

to outflank these same troops, had fallen in with the greatly superior forces of the Duke of Brunswick at Auerstädt. So feeble, however, were the tactics of the aged strategist that 18,000 Prussians never came into action at all until Davoust had overcome the isolated charges made on him, and forced the main body to retreat. The fugitives from the two Prussian armies finally fled in panic to the fortresses on the river Oder. The strongholds Magdeburg, Spandau, Stettin, Küstrin, Breslau, and Brieg were surrendered by cowardly or unpatriotic commanders; the Prussian king fled from Berlin, which Napoleon entered amid acclamations only thirteen days after the great battle. So low had Prussian courage and loyalty fallen during the enfeebling reigns of Frederick William II and III. On the other hand, the brave defence of Colberg by Gneisenau, and the courage of Blücher and Schill, soon shed some light on this darkest page of Prussian history; but all Prussia seemed lost except the districts beyond the Vistula. Napoleon's demands were so exorbitant that the humiliated king was emboldened to keep on the struggle.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM.

The Berlin Decrees.—Now was the opportunity to "conquer England upon the continent," and by these decrees Napoleon hoped to compel England to surrender. No port under the power of the French Emperor was to admit any British ship or British goods, and all such goods were confiscated. Thus all the ports of the continent from Danzig to Venice (with the exception of Danish and Portuguese ports) were closed to ships and produce from Great Britain and her colonies. In retaliation the British Government soon prevented all neutral ships from entering any of the ports where the continental blockade was in force. Thus France and her subject States were almost deprived of all colonial produce, while, in the words of a French historian,[1] "the result of these decrees was to place in English hands the monopoly of trade all over the world." The reprisals of the British Government, however, embroiled it in a sad war with the United States, 1812. So far-reaching was the influence of these despotic decrees.

Prussian Reforms.—The disgraceful capitulations of Prussian fortresses at last showed the necessity for reforms; the cowardice of so many noble officers led the king to throw open all posts in the army to the citizen class; the

[1] Lanfrey.

inconvenient uniform and firearms were improved. The King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus IV, courageously gave refuge to the Prussians at Stralsund and in the island of Rügen, which then belonged to Sweden; and solid aid was given by the Czar, who made a treaty with Prussia and sent an army under General Bennigsen.

Eylau.—In February 1807 he offered battle at Eylau. The stubborn valour of the Russians was being overcome by the tactics of Napoleon, when the arrival of a Prussian force turned his victory into a drawn battle. Fearful losses compelled both armies to retire into winter-quarters; but this was the first check which Napoleon had received. If at this time Austria had joined the allies, and England had landed a powerful force at Stralsund instead of wasting her strength in paltry and distant expeditions, Napoleon's advance might have been arrested; but his enemies were not to learn the need of combined resistance to his concentrated power until after six more years of disunion and disaster.

Poland.—Napoleon's statecraft could not overlook the advantage of exciting the once powerful Polish nation against its despoilers, and he had gained thousands of Polish soldiers after his triumphant entry into Warsaw, January 1807; but he never intended mortally to wound Austria and Russia by restoring the ancient kingdom of Poland, though after Friedland he carved the duchy of Warsaw out of the Prussian provinces taken from the old Polish kingdom. With the object of further weakening Russia, he encouraged the Sultan of Turkey to declare war against Russia, which he did in spite of the presence of an English fleet.

Friedland.—On the anniversary of Marengo (June 14, 1807) Napoleon gained the momentous victory of Friedland. The Russian general Bennigsen, hoping to surprise

detached divisions of the French, crossed the bridge of Friedland; but the latter, by swift concentration and attack, crowned by Ney's heroic charge into the town of Friedland, cut off the allies from the bridge which was their only means of retreat. Thousands were drowned or taken prisoners. With the loss of baggage and artillery, the wrecks of the army fled to Tilsit, leaving Königsberg open to the French.

Tilsit.—War was at an end, for the Czar Alexander, disgusted at the lukewarm support of the English Cabinet, and charmed by the promises of the great conqueror, came to terms in the disgraceful Treaty of Tilsit. Abandoning his Prussian allies, he consented to the establishment by Napoleon of the **Grand Duchy of Warsaw**, which was carved out of Prussian Poland; and, as the price of his consent, he received the Prussian borderland of Bialystock. The dukedom was given to the elector, now King of Saxony, because the former electors of Saxony had more than once been kings of Poland. Thus the friendship of Saxony was further secured by Napoleon, and the province of Silesia was nearly sundered from the rest of Prussia by the wide-reaching frontiers of Saxony and the new Polish duchy. Prussia was further to lose all her lands west of the Elbe, which, with Brunswick and parts of Hanover and Hesse, went to form a new vassal kingdom of Westphalia for Napoleon's youngest brother Jerome. A crushing war indemnity of 140,000,000 francs, and the limitation of its army to 42,000 men, finally completed the misery of the Prussian State, now reduced to less than half its extent.

Alexander on his side lost little by this treaty, for Napoleon saw that the active friendship of the facile and generous young Czar was necessary to complete the continental blockade, and to overawe Prussia and Austria from the east.

The Scandinavian Powers.—The courageous but obstinate king Adolphus IV of Sweden refused to bow down to the conqueror; but after the Treaty of Tilsit a French division under Mortier drove the Swedes back upon Stralsund, the only considerable town in Swedish Pomerania, a fortress which the new system of warfare rendered untenable, and forced them to surrender.

Great Britain, Sweden, and Turkey were now to be the prey of the two mighty potentates, for Napoleon, ever intent on conquering England on the continent, held out the acquisition by Alexander of the Swedish provinces of Finland, and of Turkish Moldavia and Wallachia, as a bribe for Alexander's hostility to Great Britain. The continental blockade against the mistress of the seas was to be extended to the ports of Russia and Prussia, while a secret understanding was arrived at to seize the neutral Danish fleet for employment against England. This becoming known to the English ministers, they determined to anticipate the blow by means equally forceful. The bombardment of Copenhagen and the seizure of the Danish fleet (September 1807) alienated the sympathy of the continent from England. Gustavus IV alone remained true to the English alliance. But the Russians soon overran Finland; and the Danes, declaring war against England and Sweden, overpowered the latter country.

This sudden collapse of the Swedish power, once so formidable, was mainly due to the foolish obstinacy of Gustavus IV; for though Russia was invading Finland, yet he went out of his way to attack Norway, then a possession of the Danish crown; finally, two Swedish regiments on the Norwegian frontier, marching back to Stockholm, arrested Gustavus in his palace. The Swedish Parliament declared that he and his heirs had forfeited the throne, and

that his uncle should succeed with the title of Charles XIII. The monarch was to surrender to the Parliament and the upper classes much of his power; but these changes were too late to save Sweden's Finnish provinces from the grasp of Russia. Sweden received back her small Pomeranian territory only at the price of hostility to England and the exclusion of English goods. Thus fell to pieces the once great Third Coalition.[1]

Bernadotte.—As Charles XIII had no heirs, the choice of a successor to the throne fell on the French marshal Bernadotte, who had won many friends among the Swedish troops by his well-timed acts of kindness in the Prussian campaign. The grudging consent which Napoleon at last gave to his marshal's acceptance of this new dignity, and the vigorous enforcement of the continental system on Sweden, soon estranged Bernadotte from his former master. The refusal of Sweden to break off all intercourse with England soon led to the occupation by Napoleon of Swedish Pomerania, and during Napoleon's Russian campaign Bernadotte joined Russia and England. He thus secured for himself the Swedish crown, to which he succeeded in 1818, Norway having been added in 1814 by the allies. Thus, in Sweden alone the dynastic changes brought about by the Napoleonic wars took permanent root. The semi-feudal character of the Swedish government was, however, little affected by this curious change of dynasty.

[1] The Coalitions are variously divided, but, omitting smaller combinations, four great Coalitions may be thus enumerated: (1) Austria, Prussia, Spain, etc., ended by Peace of Basle, 1795. (2) England, Austria, Russia, etc., broken up after Battle of Hohenlinden, 1800. (3) England, Sweden, Russia, Austria (after retirement of Austria joined by Prussia), ended by Peace of Tilsit, 1807. (4) Russia, Prussia, England, joined by Austria and Sweden (1813-1814).

CHAPTER XVI.

THE NEW FEELING OF NATIONALITY.

"The mission of Napoleon was at an end when the mission of the peoples began."—MAZZINI.

IN striking contrast to the easy overthrow of the old dynasty of Sweden by Napoleon's troops and allies was the ever-increasing NATIONAL resistance which Napoleon aroused in the south-western corner of Europe; and yet at first the collapse of the old Portuguese and Spanish dynasties was even more sudden and humiliating than that of Sweden had been. Portugal was the only door left by which British products could enter the continent; this was a sufficient reason for Napoleon to order Junot to march through Spain on Lisbon. Permission for the passage of his troops was gained from the abject court of Madrid by the bribe of sharing in the spoils of Portugal. Junot's soldiers were worn out by fatigue before they reached Lisbon, but the renown of the French name was enough to create a panic there; and the Regent, taking away the royal treasures, embarked on English ships for Brazil a few hours before Junot's exhausted bands entered the unresisting capital. It seemed as though the Iberian peninsula would submit without a struggle to Napoleon's domination, for 80,000 of Napoleon's troops poured into Spain and secured a number of the strongest places. The struggle seemed to be over, but it had not yet begun.

By the law which dooms to decay dynasties, as well as

nations, which indulge in luxury, the sovereigns of the Austrian and Bourbon houses who ruled Spain after Philip II degenerated in capacity for ruling; and the realm which under Philip II was the terror of Europe had become little more than a province of France. Charles III (1759-1788) had introduced reforms inspired by the philosophic spirit of the eighteenth century,[1] but, like those of Joseph in Austria, they had taken no root; and his successor, Charles IV, was too indolent to awaken the nation from its degeneracy. He weakly followed the policy of Godoy, the queen's favourite, who supported the French alliance. The heir to the throne, Prince Ferdinand, opposed this degrading alliance, which had lost Trinidad to England and ruined the Spanish navy at Trafalgar; and his opposition was more and more espoused by the Spanish nation. The palace intrigues which followed gave Napoleon the wished-for excuse for interference, and a popular outbreak in Madrid against the hated Godoy terrified Charles IV and his queen into a sudden abdication in favour of their son, who was proclaimed king as **Ferdinand VII.**

The Treachery of Bayonne.—Murat at the head of a French column soon entered Madrid, and would not recognise the new monarch; for Napoleon had hoped to terrify the whole of the Spanish royal family into a flight to their American colonies, as he had scared away the Portuguese regent. The popular outbreak at Madrid thwarted this design; and it only remained to Napoleon to play off father against son at Bayonne, where the deposed and reigning monarchs of Spain had foolishly put themselves in his power. A rising of the populace at Madrid against the French occupation was sternly quelled by

[1] "All *for* the people: nothing *by* the people."

Murat; and on hearing this welcome news Napoleon bullied Ferdinand into an abdication of the crown in favour of his father, who had previously been coaxed into a renunciation of all his rights, in return for two French estates and a pension (May 1808).

By this mean trickery Napoleon imagined that his title to the crown of Spain and its vast colonies was secured beyond dispute; but the Spanish nation was not so dependent on the decrepit Madrid government as tamely to be bartered away to one of Napoleon's brothers; and the news of the treachery of Bayonne set the whole peninsula in a blaze.

Spanish War of Liberation.—The provincial privileges had long accustomed the Spaniards to act independently of Madrid, and the Junta (council) of the small northern province of Asturias, with sublime audacity, declared war against the master of Western Europe. It sent requests for aid to London, the other Spanish provinces followed this example, and the French were only masters of the ground their troops stood on. Napoleon, having experienced hitherto only the opposition of *governments* and regular armies, thought that his complaisant brother Joseph, whom he transferred from Naples to Madrid, would soon wield the resources of Spain and of its American colonies for the aggrandisement of France and the ruin of England. After realising the position of Charlemagne as ruler of France, Germany, and Italy, Napoleon now aimed at rivalling Alexander by the conquest of the vast Spanish and Portuguese colonies, and by the overthrow of the British Empire; but, so far from leading to these results, the Emperor's Spanish policy aroused the first of that series of national reactions against his rule which led to his overthrow. The importance of the Spanish rising must not be

measured merely by the fact that it detained a quarter of a million French soldiers during the next four years to hold down Spain and face Wellington, but by its tearing away once and for all the mask of popular championship from the "heir to the Revolution," and by its hastening on the national movement in Germany. That Napoleon intended to have his own way in Spain was at once evident by his transferring his bold and ambitious brother-in-law, Murat, from the capital which he so much coveted to the quieter realm of Naples; while he summoned his own complaisant brother Joseph from Naples to the perils and splendour of Madrid.

Baylen.—On the very day when Joseph Bonaparte entered his new capital (July 20, 1808) a disaster befell the French army of the south of Spain. Seville, the capital of the rich and populous province of Andalusia, formed the headquarters of the Spanish national army and of the revolutionary Junta which claimed to represent the councils of the provinces. Marching into Andalusia, the French general Dupont took and sacked Cordova; but he was soon obliged to fall back before superior numbers, and he found his communications cut off at Baylen. There his 20,000 troops, surrounded by superior numbers, and overcome by heat and thirst, were compelled to surrender. At the news of this disaster Joseph at once fled from Madrid, and the other French armies fell back on the Ebro. The news of the capitulation of a French army to the inexperienced troops of Spain sent a thrill of excitement through all those continental States which had seen their independence lost as soon as their regular troops were beaten. Baylen taught them that national resistance might succeed even after the regular armies had been shattered. The example was soon to be followed in Prussia.

Convention of Cintra.—Meanwhile the Portuguese had begun to rise against Junot's forces; and an English corps under Sir Arthur Wellesley, landing at the mouth of the Mondego, defeated the French at Vimiero. This led to the evacuation of Portugal in the Convention of Cintra (August 30, 1808), by which Sir Harry Burrard, the successor of Wellesley, generously undertook to convey back the 20,000 French troops to France in English ships. This much-censured convention delivered Portugal from the French army just when the success of the Spanish patriots cut off its communication with France.

Erfurt.—Napoleon, alarmed at these events, drew closer to Alexander, so that the latter might keep Austria in check while he went to chastise the Spaniards. In the little town of Erfurt the two "Masters of Europe," surrounded by a crowd of vassal kings[1] and princes, entertained each other with fêtes, balls, and with a hare-hunt on the neighbouring battle-field of Jena. Napoleon humoured Alexander's desire for the Danubian provinces, in return for his moral support in Spain; and the two vowed eternal friendship, but they never met again.

At Erfurt Napoleon charmed Goethe and Wieland by his remarks on literature, and conferred on them the order of the Legion of Honour; their acceptance of this forms one of the least pleasing episodes in this time of German humiliation.

Second Occupation of Spain (November-December 1808).—Feeling sure of his rear, Napoleon now hurried to Spain with his best troops and generals to crush the 130,000 ill-organised Spanish troops. These were at once

[1] It was here that a French sergeant, who called to the watch to give a grand salute, was rebuked by his superior officer with the words. "It is only a king!"

overcome at Burgos, Espinosa, and Tudela; and the threat of a bombardment deterred the citizens of Madrid from a street-to-street resistance, such as was soon to be seen at Saragossa. The capital surrendered (December 4, 1808), and Napoleon made an effort to win over the Spaniards for his brother Joseph by the following useful measures of reform:—Abolition of the Inquisition, of feudal rights, of the provincial customs dues, and indemnities to the provinces for the expenses of the French occupation. But the Spanish people estimated these reforms at their true value, as bribes for national submission; and Napoleon soon hurried off to crush the English column which Moore had brought into the heart of Leon to assist the defeated Spaniards. The well-known pursuit of the English to Corunna was left to Soult to conduct, for Napoleon had heard threatening news of the war preparations of Austria (January 1, 1809);[1] and, regarding the Spanish rising as crushed, he hurried off for the Austrian war. But the spirit of the Spaniards still held out against the discipline and superior numbers of French armies; and in the street-to-street and house-to-house defence of Saragossa women vied with men in keeping the French troops at bay. The heroic inhabitants, decimated by artillery, bayonet, and pestilence, surrendered their city half in ruins (February 21, 1809) after a siege and assault of seven weeks.

In the open country, however, the Spanish irregulars were no match for the French forces. In the autumn of 1809 the Spanish army of Andalusia, numbering 50,000 men, in its advance on Madrid was utterly crushed by Soult's brave and well-trained troops, with the loss of half its number as prisoners; and Joseph was soon master of all southern Spain up to Cadiz. The central Junta

[1] See page 110.

(council) of Seville, which had shown more energy in declamation than in management of business, was forced to flee amid the derision of its countrymen. In a short time Napoleon informed the Madrid Ministry that he wished to extend the frontier of France from the Pyrenees to the Ebro "as an indemnity for all that Spain had cost." This threat was not carried out.

The French general Suchet in 1810 and 1811 waged two brilliant campaigns in the eastern provinces of Catalonia and Valencia, against the Spaniards under Blake; and by his humane and able administration he consolidated his conquests. Napoleon said of him afterwards: "If I had had two marshals like Suchet, I should not only have conquered Spain, but *kept* it."

Wellington's Campaigns.—In fact, the war would have become merely a guerilla struggle in the mountain districts but for the assistance of English forces under Sir Arthur Wellesley and Graham. The details of these campaigns are too well known to need more than summarising here.

In the spring of 1809 Wellesley surprised Soult by a masterly passage of the Douro, and drove him out of Portugal; and in July he defeated Marshal Victor in the well-contested battle of Talavera; but the concentration of other French armies obliged a retreat by Badajoz into Portugal. In 1810 the peace of Schönbrunn freed Napoleon's troops in Germany; and a great French army under Masséna drove Wellington back on the celebrated triple lines of Torres Vedras, against which Masséna flung his troops in vain (October-November 1810).

Early in 1811 Masséna, forced by want of supplies to retreat on Spain, was defeated at Fuentès d'Onoro; Graham was victorious at Barossa, and Beresford in the desperate

struggle of Albuera over the French forces of the south of Spain.

In 1812 Wellington was able to assume a vigorous offensive. After completely defeating Marmont at Salamanca (July 22, 1812) he entered Madrid; but the concentration of French armies compelled a retreat yet again on Portugal. In May 1813 he rapidly advanced by Valladolid and utterly overthrew King Joseph and all his forces in the great battle of Vittoria (June 21, 1813). The French were driven across the Pyrenees, and the fall of San Sebastian and Pampeluna (October 1813) freed Spain from its invaders.

The Spanish Constitution of 1812.—The new activity of life and government which invigorated the Spanish people in the midst of its trials was shown in the new constitution promulgated by the Spanish Cortés at Cadiz in 1812: this declared the monarchy to be constitutional, and the suffrage to be extended to every Spaniard, one deputy being elected for every 70,000 inhabitants; lastly, it abolished entails with all feudal privileges and prerogatives.[1]

In 1814, however, Ferdinand VII, when restored to his kingdom, refused to acknowledge the new constitution, restored the feudal customs, and inaugurated the period of reaction, which was only checked in 1820; but amidst all this turmoil the Spanish nation entered on a new period of national life.

GERMANY.—The humiliations of 1806 and 1808 aroused through Prussia and North Germany a desire for national regeneration, which it was felt must precede a successful struggle for freedom.

[1] This Constitution embodied the aspirations of Spanish and also of Italian patriots far into this century (see page 182).

All patriotic Germans were thrilled by the example of Spain, where the successful rising of the people in 1808 contrasted painfully with the flattery of the vassal princes of Germany to their protector at Erfurt. Moreover, the military execution of Palm, a bookseller of Nuremberg (August 25, 1806), whose only crime was that he had refused to declare the name of the author of a patriotic pamphlet, roused a horror of Napoleon among peace-loving German citizens. In addition to the sense of wrong must be added the material want caused by Napoleon's continental system, which had ruined Germany's foreign trade; coffee, tobacco, sugar,[1] and all colonial produce, had become the rarest and dearest of luxuries. The river-trade on the Rhine had almost ceased; for in the Confederation of the Rhine, as in Holland too, the people had been ruined by the expense of supporting French armies. The Prussian revenue was confiscated by the French from 1806 to 1808, and the forced contributions made on some Prussian towns were so crushing that the resulting debts have only been paid off in our own times.

NEW PRUSSIA.—Already on October 9, 1807, the great patriotic statesman Stein, as soon as he came into office, enacted the measures known as the **Memel decrees**, which began the regeneration of the Prussian realm. (1) The edict of Emancipation abolished all feudal servitude; henceforth Prussia relied on freedmen for her liberation. (2) The barriers which separated the callings of nobles, citizens, and peasants, were also swept away. (3) The middle class received the right of owning "noble" land, which could

[1] In France cane-sugar was partly replaced by beet-sugar; the source of a new European industry is thus traceable to the "continental blockade."

previously be held only by nobles. In 1808 the towns gained the right to choose their own municipal councils.

In 1811 the Prussian statesman Hardenberg, who succeeded Stein when the latter was driven from office by Napoleon's interference, freed the peasant from all feudal obligations towards his lord, and made him owner of two-thirds of his holding, the other third going to the lord in return for the loss of feudal dues.

Tugendbund.—Side by side with these legislative reforms, was initiated a social regeneration of equal importance by the founding of a secret society called the Tugendbund, by which the manlier virtues were cultivated with a view to the liberation of the Fatherland.

German literature breathed a national spirit very different from the colourless cosmopolitanism of earlier days. The brave young poet Körner, before he fell in a fight against the French, stirred military ardour by his "Sword Song," and the patriotic professor and poet, Arndt, soon thrilled Germans everywhere to a new sense of national unity by his song, "What is the German's Fatherland?"

The national system of education in Prussia, which has brought such wonderful results to a land naturally poor, was greatly improved by the learned and patriotic minister Humboldt. He reformed the "gymnasia" or public schools, and helped to found the University of Berlin (1810).

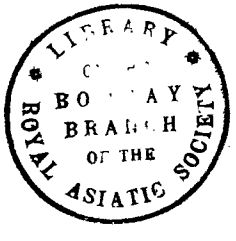
Thus Prussia in the days of her adversity laid the foundations of her future greatness. France, while torn by her revolution, and Prussia while crushed under the heel of Napoleon, reorganised their internal systems, and drew strength from their days of calamity.

Stein.—The Hanoverian minister Scharnhorst, called to reorganise the Prussian army, evaded the terms of the treaty limiting it to 42,000 men by rapidly passing men

through the ranks, and by his skill and activity he prepared the means of liberation, though hampered by an almost bankrupt treasury. A letter of Stein's was intercepted in August 1808, in which he stated that the affairs of Spain were making a profound impression; and Napoleon ordered Frederick William III to replace his patriotic minister by the more pliable Hardenberg. Stein's property was confiscated by Napoleon. The undaunted patriot repaired to Vienna, and lastly to St. Petersburg: at both capitals he strengthened the party opposed to Napoleon's despotism. Stein seemed to be completely worsted in the unequal struggle of one mind against the master of western and central Europe; but in reality he had paved the way for a truly national movement which was to prove stronger than Napoleon I, and, when aroused to its full strength by Napoleon III, was to crush the nephew even more completely. It is Stein's lasting glory that he saw the secret of the new strength which France acquired in 1789, and Spain in 1808, viz. the strength of a *nation's* resistance.

It is thus possible to point out the years in which five of the great peoples of Europe awoke to a new and fuller sense of national life and unity. France found it in the Revolution of 1789; Prussia and Spain in the disasters of 1807 and 1808; while Napoleon's levelling policy in Italy was leading more gradually, through the years 1797-1810, to a desire for Italian unity; and his attack on Russia first roused that power to a sense of its great strength (1812). The league of the allies in 1792 compelled France to organise her great military resources; and now Napoleon, wielding the forces of France, Germany, and Italy, was compelling the rest of Europe to organise itself to resist him; and the national forces resisting Napoleon,

strengthened by his very tyranny, eventually overthrew him. Providence was using Napoleon I. as an unconscious agent to set in motion the two greatest currents of events of this century on the continent—the unity of Germany and the unity of Italy—events which were to be at last successfully completed owing to the short-sighted policy of Napoleon III.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CHAPTER XVII.

WAGRAM—FINAL ANNEXATIONS (1809-1811).

Austria declares war.—In Austria the reforming efforts of Count Stadion produced little effect beyond the reorganisation of the army, and the formation of a national militia, in which the people enrolled themselves with an enthusiasm new to that artificial state: for the danger of the Franco-Russian alliance had bound together the races of the Hapsburg Empire which rarely act together except under external pressure. The humiliations and dangers of 1805 and 1806 had prepared the way for the rise of a stronger state on a new and more solid basis. At present, however, the precipitation of Austria ruined her prospects. The chief Prussian fortresses were still held by French troops, and Frederick William III had to promise an army of 15,000 men against Austria, should she declare war against Napoleon; also the rivalry between Alexander and Napoleon had not yet broken out. At the end of 1808 Alexander had not established himself firmly in Finland, where his badly commanded troops had been several times beaten; nor yet in the Danubian provinces, which the Turks were preparing vigorously to contest. Accordingly Alexander adhered to the Napoleonic alliance. Moreover, the princes of the Rhenish Confederation only thought of preying on Prussia and Austria; only in

Westphalia was there any wish to shake off the Napoleonic yoke.

Nevertheless, lured on by the example of Spain and encouraged by England, the Austrian Emperor, Francis I, determined to risk another war while Napoleon was engaged in Spain; for the armed peace which followed the treaty of Presburg was almost worse than war itself. So Francis declared war in March 1809.

Eckmühl.—Napoleon soon had 800,000 men under arms: his German contingents at first might have been crushed by Austrian troops, if these had moved with any rapidity. But Napoleon arrived in time to inspirit his German allies; and mainly by their aid he defeated the Austrians in five battles on five successive days, the most important of which were the last two at Eckmühl and Ratisbon. Napoleon's genius had thus changed a retrograde movement of the French and Confederate troops into a powerful offensive one, which cut the large Austrian army in two parts and separated it by the Danube. In Italy, however, Eugène Beauharnais, whom Bonaparte had appointed viceroy, was defeated by the Austrian Archduke John.

Rising in Tyrol.—Tyrol was formerly governed by its own Diet, with little interference from Vienna: taxes were light, and the free-born peasants lived happily under their patriarchal system, loving their nobles and clergy, each commune having its own laws and customs. When these people, proud and independent as the Swiss, were handed over by Napoleon to Bavaria, they rose against the military conscription and the religious changes ordered by the enlightened Bavarian monarch. The mountaineers, under the gallant **Hofer**, broke down bridges, and cut off the French and Bavarian regulars in the valleys by their deadly rifle

aim, or by rolling down rocks from the heights above. Napoleon sent a French column which retook Innsprück, but after the check of Aspern it had to rejoin Napoleon. The disaster of Wagram, however, compelled Austria to desert the faithful Tyrolese; but even then these devoted mountaineers, wearing the peacock's plumes of the house of Hapsburg, struggled bravely on against great odds. At last they were dispersed, and their brave leader Hofer was captured and shot as a rebel by Napoleon's orders (February 1810).

Aspern (May 21, 22, 1809).—Napoleon, however, regarding the Italian and Tyrolese campaigns as side-issues, determined to strike at the heart of Austria. Overcoming an obstinate resistance at the river Traun,[1] his troops appeared before Vienna, which was compelled to submit after a short bombardment (May 13, 1809). He tried to win over the Hungarians by promising to free them from Austria, but they did not trust his assurances.

His position at Vienna was not safe until he had defeated the Austrian army on the north bank of the Danube, which threatened him near Vienna. Napoleon, master of the south bank, determined to cross the network of channels into which the Danube divides near Vienna; he easily seized the large Lobau Island, below Vienna; but when he had thrown his forces across the narrow northern channel of the river, he failed after two days' sharp fighting to dislodge the Austrians from the villages of Essling and Aspern. At a critical time, too, his pontoon bridges were swept away by the trees which the Austrians cast above into the flooded stream of the Danube, and a more daring commander than the Archduke Charles might have cut off the French troops now isolated on the

[1] A southern affluent of the Danube flowing into it just below Linz.

northern bank. Five times the Austrians carried the village of Essling; five times they were driven out by the intrepid French. The brave and skilful Marshal Lannes fell; and, after inflicting and sustaining fearful losses, Napoleon was obliged under cover of the darkness to withdraw his troops by the repaired bridge into the isle of Lobau.

This terrible check in the heart of an enemy's country would have crushed an ordinary general: it only served to show the immense superiority of Napoleon over all continental commanders. He gave out that the Austrians would have been defeated but for the succour of "*General*" Danube; he fortified the Lobau island with cannon which swept the northern bank; he kept his hold on the south side and on Vienna itself, whose workmen were compelled to aid in the construction of a bridge of boats and of two solid bridges built on piles. He also ordered all available troops to his support; Prince Eugène, his adopted son, was with the French army of Italy to drive the Archduke John before him and join Napoleon. Macdonald and Mortier were to hurry northwards from Styria and Dalmatia; the troops engaged in fighting the Tyrolese were to withdraw and only leave guards at the ends of the river valleys to seal up the revolt; lastly, his Bavarian, Würtemberg, and Saxon allies were hurried down the Danube to assist in riveting the chains of Europe.

Supineness of the Allies.—During the five weeks in which Napoleon was preparing for a second spring, what were all his enemies doing?

The Archduke Charles, surprised at his own good fortune in checking the man whose genius he revered, was occupied in entrenching himself on the heights around Essling and Wagram. His brother, the Archduke John, with an army inferior in numbers and efficiency, gave battle

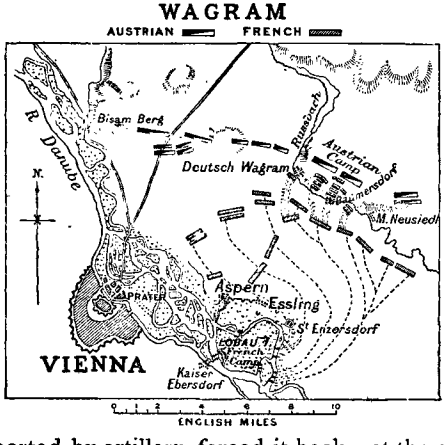
at Raab to Prince Eugène, who was now following him through Eastern Hungary. The Austrian and Hungarian levies were completely routed; so his army, which the Archduke Charles had ordered to march up the Danube to strengthen him, fled down its banks to Komorn, while Prince Eugène's victorious troops reinforced Napoleon.

Schill.—In Prussia the chivalrous young Schill had in April 1809 made a quixotic attempt against Westphalia, but he was driven north to Wismar and Stralsund by Westphalian and Dutch troops in Napoleon's service. He and his comrades, valiantly fighting, were cut to pieces in the streets of Stralsund. Other isolated risings in North Germany were easily crushed; and yet England was during all this spring preparing a vast expedition which might have roused all North Germany against Napoleon. Instead of landing at the mouth of the Elbe, the English forces made a feeble attempt to seize Antwerp, and finally wasted away on the unhealthy shores of Walcheren; isolated attacks on the coast-line of the kingdom of Naples also frittered away England's energies, with the sole result of keeping Murat in a state of alarm.

Napoleon gained his victories by keenly discerning the weakest point of his foes, and by crushing them with an irresistible concentration of force; while his foes so scattered their forces as to offer every advantage to a master in the art of concentration.

Never did Napoleon show his daring genius more than in the crossing of the Danube, which was effected on the night of July 4, 1809. Misleading the enemy by a violent cannonade on Aspern, he swiftly threw across his 180,000 men by six movable boat bridges lower down the stream, and outflanking the Austrian fortified positions, rendered their possession of no importance.

Wagram.—On the 6th July the great battle of Wagram was fought within sight of Vienna. The towers of the capital were thronged with citizens who watched from afar the fluctuations in this gigantic struggle on which depended the fate of Europe. At first the Austrian centre drove back on the Danube the somewhat scattered French forces under Masséna, who commanded, though nearly disabled by a wound; but a heavy column under Macdonald,



well supported by artillery, forced it back; at the same time the French right under Davoust outflanked the strong defensive position on the Archduke Charles' left wing, which ought to have been supported by the Archduke John's army marching from Pressburg. The delay of his arrival caused a general retreat of the Austrians, which was conducted steadily under cover of a formidable artillery fire. The Austrians lost nearly 30,000 men in killed and wounded, and the French about 20,000 men. This terrible day ended the war; and the retreat which Wellesley had had to make on Portugal after the battle of Talavera further decided Austria to sue for peace

The Treaty of Vienna or Schönbrunn (signed October 14, 1809) deprived Austria of 3,500,000 inhabitants: she had to give up to France Carniola, parts of Carinthia and Croatia, with the districts and ports of Trieste and Fiume. These new possessions were, under the name of the Illyrian provinces, added to the province of Dalmatia gained by France after the Treaty of Pressburg. Tyrol and Salzburg went to Bavaria; Western Galicia to Warsaw, and part of East Galicia to Russia. The Vienna Treasury[1] had to own a bankruptcy in 1811, and again in 1814; but the faithful allegiance of Hungary, Bohemia, and of the German population in Austria proper, remained steadfast amid all the disasters of the Hapsburg monarchy. Napoleon in 1809 sought to entice the Hungarians from their allegiance to the Hapsburgs, but the revolutionary ideas had taken no deep root in Hungary; for the democratic conspiracy of 1795 had been promptly crushed by the government with the aid of the powerful Hungarian nobility. After the disasters of Austerlitz and Wagram Francis saw the need of conciliating the Hungarians by all possible means. He gained all his requests from the Hungarian Diet, provided that he came to sue for it clad in the national Hungarian costume. So Napoleon's proclamations produced little effect—especially when his troops invaded the country and subjected it to the usual crushing exactions.

But Austria's policy of opposition to Napoleon was soon to be abandoned for a pretence of friendship. Stadion was succeeded as chief adviser at Vienna by the astute Metternich, who was afterwards such a power in Europe. "From the day when peace is signed," wrote Metternich, "we must confine our system to tacking and turning and flattering. Thus alone may we possibly preserve our ex-

[1] It could pay only 20 per cent and 40 per cent on its own notes; and this too in spite of occasional subsidies from London.

istence till the day of general deliverance." In pursuance of this ignoble aim the Tyrolese were abandoned.

The Austrian Marriage.—Soon it was rumoured that Napoleon meant to divorce his wife Josephine Beauharnais, because by her he had no heir to succeed him; and, only four months after the disastrous peace of Vienna was signed, Francis betrothed his daughter, the Archduchess Marie Louise, to his conqueror. By this extraordinary match the "parvenu of the French Revolution" wedded a near relative of Marie Antoinette, who had perished by the guillotine; but this alliance with the old and powerful Hapsburg dynasty gave him immense power in central Europe, and when a son was born to him, it seemed that the Napoleonic dynasty had for ever ousted the Bourbons from France. Yet this son, called the King of Rome, though twice named by Napoleon as his successor, was never to wield the imperial power. After 1814 he lived at Vienna, bearing the title of Duke of Reichstadt, and died in 1832.

Annexations of the Papal States, Holland, etc.—Arcola, Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland—these were the victories which had marked Napoleon's rise to power. Wagram and the Austrian marriage seemed to consolidate it.

After the battle of Aspern, Napoleon had annexed the States of the Church to the French Empire, which thus stretched beyond the Tiber. On the day before Wagram was fought, the French general Miollis arrested Pope Pius VII in his palace at Rome, and he was conducted as a prisoner to Fontainebleau by order of the man who had received his unction and blessing at Notre Dame. In Spain Napoleon had not ventured to annex the land between the Pyrenees and the Ebro, being satisfied with controlling the country through his puppet king Joseph. But Napoleon's position in the north of Europe had been greatly strengthened

by the miserable failure of the British Walcheren expedition under the incapable Earl of Chatham (November 1809); and he now felt strong enough to venture on further annexations there.

In Holland Napoleon incessantly pressed his brother Louis, king of that unfortunate little land, to apply the continental blockade against English goods with its full rigour. This was most distasteful to the more liberal-minded and sentimental Louis, who really had the welfare of his new subjects at heart. After enduring many vehement reproaches from his all-powerful brother, Louis finally abdicated (July 1, 1810); and eight days later Holland was absorbed in the French Empire.

With the same object in view, viz. the extension of the continental blockade against England, Napoleon in December 1810 annexed the lands between Holland and the mouth of the Elbe. All these annexations, together with that of the Hanse towns, Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, and of large parts of Hanover, were intended to seal up Europe against English goods (December 1810). These extensions of the French Empire to the Baltic led to a more important result than the absorption of part of the mush-room kingdom of Westphalia and of the three northern Hanseatic free cities; for the Duke of Oldenburg, whose duchy was sacrificed to Napoleon's desire to strangle English commerce, was a relative of the Czar Alexander. The Russian czar had long been chafing under the commercial tyranny of the continental system. Enraged at these last annexations, made by Napoleon in a time of peace, he resolved to arm in self-defence against a system which all Europe was every month finding more and more unbear-able.

CENTRAL EUROPE IN 1812

AND CAMPAIGNS OF 1792 - 1810

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FRENCH EMPIRE AT ITS HEIGHT (1811-1812).

"That name which scattered by disastrous blare
All Europe's bound-lines—drawn afresh in blood—
Napoleon!" MRS. BROWNING.

THESE annexations, together with that of canton Valais in south Switzerland, extended the French Empire to its utmost limits. It reached from Bayonne to Lübeck, and from Brest to Rome, and down to Ragusa on the Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic. This vast territory was directly subject to Napoleon. His will was law in the Confederation of the Rhine, which was now extended from the Alps to the Baltic by the inclusion of Mecklenburg. The grand-duchy of Warsaw, stretching further west than the modern province of Poland, was equally under the domination of the emperor. As King of Italy he held the north-eastern districts between the towns of Milan, Venice, and Ancona, and the south of Italy, under the rule of his brother-in-law Murat, was subject to his influence; but among the ignorant and backward people of south Italy the new order of things only aroused repugnance which showed itself in brigandage and ferocious revolts, whenever an English expedition (as in 1806 at Maida) gave any hope of success against Murat's troops. Sicily and Sardinia, protected by the English fleet, were all that remained to the

houses of Savoy and Bourbon, after their flight from Turin and Naples respectively.

Of States less subject to the emperor's influence, Switzerland, stripped of Geneva and canton Valais, acknowledged him as protector under the title of "mediator," and soon sent a "Helvetic legion" to the Russian expedition. The north-eastern part of Spain seemed so far subjugated that the emperor in 1810 threatened to extend the French Empire as far as the Ebro; but, though Suchet in that year subdued the north-east of Spain, Napoleon allowed his brother Joseph to rule nominally over the whole country, until he himself could conquer and annex it altogether.

The influence which the French Empire exerted on the whole of Europe, except England, Scandinavia, Turkey, and Russia, can be compared with nothing so well as with the breaking up of the old tribal system of Europe by the conquests and government of the old Roman Empire; for the French Empire, though brief in its duration, yet introduced the potent idea of political equality at a time when the greater part of the continent was in an excited condition ready to receive it.

Germany.—The Napoleonic constitutions in the Rhenish Confederation and the duchy of Warsaw had abolished serfdom and proclaimed civic liberty and religious equality in the eye of the law. In fact, as Prussia's reforms were the result of her disasters in 1806, the French Empire may be said to have swept away the chief abuses of the feudal system between the Rhine and the Niemen. For the French people had gained so much strength by its reforms that even its staunchest foes, like Stein, were obliged to introduce similar reforms in order to gain strength to shake off Napoleon's yoke. By sweeping away some hundred little German States, and welding that

land together under his firm control, Napoleon at last by his exactions aroused a national feeling.

Italy was, except in name, one realm under his rule, and was no longer divided into its old divisions of the States of the Church, the kingdoms of Sardinia and Naples, the republics of Venice and Genoa, the Papal States, and the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena. Napoleon had deposed the potentates, created republics, welded these again into his empire, or into the Kingdom of Italy; and the effect of these kaleidoscopic changes was to make Italians forget their old local antipathies and to create a national feeling. Thus Napoleon I. paved the way for Italian unity, which his nephew afterwards furthered; also the short-sighted policy of the continental system evoked a desire for unity in Germany which was crowned with success after the attack of Napoleon III in 1870. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri.*

The pride of Frenchmen was flattered by seeing cities like Rome, Cologne, Hamburg, and Trieste part of their vast empire. The new possessions were mapped out in departments, and appeared in French geography under the names of departments of the Tiber, the Arno, or the mouth of the Rhine, of the Elbe, etc.; the eighty-five departments of France were increased to 130.

Napoleon's Government in France.—Though Napoleon was a reckless innovator in Germany, Spain, and Italy, where he desired to overthrow the old order of things, yet in France proper he had closed the Revolution and drawn all powers into his own hands. In 1807 he had suppressed the Tribunate, which had occasionally ventured to criticise his actions. The majority of its members joined the Legislative Body, which was now the only national elective council; but the emperor neglected and

weakened it in every possible way, not even asking its consent when he desired to raise the military conscriptions a year before the legal time.[1] When new departments were added to the empire he declared that the Senate, which was entirely under his power, should nominate members for them to this body; and finally he did so himself without its consent. But the depth of its humiliation was reached in the spring of 1811, when the president and members of this body went to the cradle of the King of Rome, Napoleon's son of two months old, with an elaborate speech to the infant, which was answered by the *nurse*. Henceforth "Senatus-Consulta," or personal decrees of the emperor, replaced the decisions of the Legislative Body—the degraded descendant of the Constituent Assembly of 1790.

Personal liberty was equally at the mercy of the autocrat. Madame de Staël[2] was exiled for her book on Germany, which contained too much appreciation of a people whom Napoleon held down; and French thought assumed an obsequious air towards the all-powerful ruler. Châteaubriand manifested his disapproval of the murder of the Duc d'Enghien; previously (in his *Génie du Christianisme*) he had gained the favour of Napoleon by the phrase, "Restorer of the altars." With these two exceptions French literature during the Napoleonic era was singularly barren, at a time when the French Revolution was causing a responsive outburst of song in the youthful poems of

[1] So strictly were these conscriptions for the army carried out that there were soon over 50,000 refractory recruits.

[2] She steadfastly refused to buy her return by singing the emperor's praises. On the birth of the King of Rome she was urged that this might be a suitable subject for an ode, but she said that she must confine her congratulations to the expression of a wish that he might have a suitable nurse.

Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, and Byron. French energy, repressed in literature, "foamed itself away" in war; while on the other side of the Rhine each year of military disaster saw some masterpiece of Goethe, Schiller, and of the great German musicians, lay the foundation for a brighter national life.

Codes—Public Works.—But if Napoleon repressed thought, he encouraged material prosperity in his empire. With his unequalled genius for organisation he codified the laws relating to commerce, public instruction, legal procedure, and penal offences: though these last have been softened down since, yet his legislation has remained the basis of French law ever after. He encouraged Jacquard, a workman of Lyons, the inventor of labour-saving apparatus in the weaving machine, which ensured prosperity to his town in spite of the opposition of workmen; and the cotton trade in France was furthered by Napoleon's patronage of Lenoir, who had obtained the secret of the spinning-jenny from England. Agriculture and trade made some progress; but the continental blockade caused a fit of over-production in France which led to a severe commercial crisis.[1] France also was drained of men for the army, and there was wide-spread suffering. Napoleon sought to obviate or hide this by carrying out vast public works; thus ten canals were constructed to connect the river-systems of France. Splendid roads were made over the Simplon and Mont Cenis passes to facilitate communication with Italy, and a huge breakwater was begun at Cherbourg—not to be finished till our days.

[1] All English merchandise found in the French Empire or its vassal States was to be publicly burnt. The MILAN decrees (*December* 1807) also declared that any neutral vessel which should submit to the British naval orders in council should be considered fit spoil of war.

He dazzled the inhabitants of Paris by extending the Tuileries, by beginning the huge Arc de Triomphe, and by rearing the Vendôme column with cannon taken from Austria. A temple raised to Glory has since become the Church of the Madeleine. Provincial towns, together with Antwerp, Genoa, and Turin, were beautified; and Antwerp became a first-class port, strongly fortified as a menace to London. Everywhere throughout his vast empire public works attested to the vigour of the ruler; in fact he outstripped Frederick the Great in the energy with which he called forth all the resources of his dominions.

Western Europe has never since lost the impetus thus given to its material development.

The Church.—In ecclesiastical matters Napoleon gained his way as completely as he did in everything else: he had deprived the pope of his States and kept him a prisoner at Savona, and then at Fontainebleau; but Pius VII with quiet tenacity refused to institute the bishops whom Napoleon nominated. As a punishment he was kept in close and unseemly confinement by the man who afterwards posed as a martyr at St. Helena. By means of threats to the French bishops and the imprisonment of three of them, Napoleon gained his point—that the archbishops should have the power of instituting French bishops. On the other hand, the cause of freedom gained by the proclamation of religious liberty wherever Napoleon's power extended in other lands.

Military Rule.—Napoleon, by carrying out in his vast empire the conscription with the greatest rigour, especially in France proper, always had a force of 800,000 men under arms; and he allowed no other continental State to arm without regarding it as a *casus belli*. His victorious armies supported themselves by living on the

countries which they occupied; and thus France at the end of twenty years of war came out of the struggle with a national debt of only £140,000,000, while that of Great Britain was six times as large. Moreover the Emperor held down half of Europe by turning its own resources against itself. Thus he had 20,000 Polish soldiers in Spain; while a Spanish corps under Romana in 1808 was kept on the borders of Denmark: only by means of English cruisers did it escape to Spain to take part in the national rising against the emperor. The Saxon and Bavarian contingents greatly contributed to the French victories of Eckmühl and Wagram, for in the smaller German States the fear of Austria and Prussia was still greater than the dislike of Napoleon's continental system. In the same way the emperor used Dutch troops to quell Schill's rising; and the Italian troops, who showed more enthusiasm in his service than those of any other nation except the Poles, formed a part of his grand army in 1812, which comprised also Germans, Poles, Dutch, Swiss, Illyrians, Dalmatians, and even Prussians and Austrians. In fact, Napoleon skilfully found out the weak part of every opposing nation, so as to weaken it. Thus he had sought to rouse Ireland against England, Poland against Russia and Prussia, the smaller German States against the larger, besides availing himself of the hostility of Sweden and Turkey to Russia, of Denmark to Sweden, and (in 1805) of the rivalry of Austria and Prussia.

Thus it was the weakness of the European system in its international relations which gave to Napoleon's domination such extraordinary success, just as it was the chaos of feudal customs and laws which gave to Napoleon's *Code* such a marked pre-eminence; and it was the incompetence of every opposing general save Wellington, the Archduke

Charles, and Bennigsen, which showed up Napoleon's military genius in so brilliant a light. But any great national impulse was sure to overthrow the Napoleonic domination, and such an impulse he had himself started by his Spanish policy and by his Berlin decrees. The latter of these was the immediate cause of the rupture with the Czar, who refused to subject his country any longer (December 31, 1810) to the exclusion of foreign commerce.

Neither Napoleon nor the British Cabinet recognised the right of neutrals to trade directly with the blockaded coast-line; Britain was soon involved in a quarrel with the United States, and Napoleon went so far as to seize very many American ships whose neutrality he for some time did not recognise.

Finally, at the close of 1810, he came to terms with the United States in a very skilful but far from straightforward manner.

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CHAPTER XIX

MOSCOW.

The Russian War.—The treaty of Tilsit had contained the seeds of discord. The domineering spirit of the victorious Emperor had there appeared to humble itself before the conquered Czar, and to give very substantial presents, namely Finland and the Danubian provinces, for a very shadowy return, namely the adoption of the continental blockade against England. In reality, however, the occupation of Finland and Wallachia had severely taxed the resources of Russia, already enfeebled at Eylau and Friedland; the Finns had made a splendid though ineffectual defence of their land with little aid from Sweden; and the occupation of Moldo-Wallachia was a mortal affront to Turkey and Austria. The trade embargo involved the sharpest discomfort to a northern power like Russia; for Napoleon urged and almost ordered Alexander to seize not only all English vessels (which he did), but all neutrals—"for they were all English disguised under various flags and bearing false papers. They must be confiscated and England will be ruined." After Napoleon's sudden seizure of Oldenburg, which seemed an open affront to the Czar, both potentates prepared for war; and on December 31, 1810, Alexander detached himself from Napoleon's commercial system by excluding some French manufactures,

just as Napoleon had formerly excluded some Russian products.

After making a vain attempt to attach Poland to his side by the promise to the latter of a liberal constitution under his kingship, Alexander determined on a defensive campaign, such as had baffled Masséna at Torres Vedras. This decision was also due to the caution of the Prussian king, who felt that the time was not yet come to rise against the French troops occupying the chief fortresses of his country. For once the caution and disunion of Napoleon's foes was their best defence; for Napoleon forgot his own advice after his Egyptian campaign, "Never make war on a desert," and he was now able, owing to the subservience of Prussia, to begin his attack at the Niemen, and was drawn farther and farther into Russia. If Russia, aided by Austria and Prussia, had waged an offensive war, it would probably have ended in another Friedland against the superior numbers and discipline of Napoleon's troops. Alexander soon restored his conquests, except Bessarabia, to Turkey, and began to withdraw his troops from the Danube. The Turks also, indignant at Napoleon's perfidious bartering at Tilsit, mocked at his overtures for a new alliance with them against Russia. Further, a quarrel with Sweden about the seizure of Swedish vessels at Stralsund by French privateers embittered Bernadotte and threw him more and more into the arms of Russia, though he was loth to turn against the Emperor who had raised him to the rank of Marshal. Still Bernadotte, as heir-apparent, was anxious to increase his popularity with his future subjects by adding Norway to the Swedish crown. Napoleon refused to allow this scheme against his Danish allies;[1] but Alexander promised his support for this end, in return for a Swedish alliance.

[1] Norway then belonged to the Danish crown.

Against these prudent political arrangements of the Czar Napoleon opposed only military force. When the Diet at Warsaw begged him only to say the words, "Poland exists," Napoleon evaded the request, urging his obligations to Austria; and thus his Polish allies became more and more half-hearted. After arousing a national sentiment against himself in Spain in 1808, he could have retrieved his mistake in Poland and weakened Russia by re-establishing the Polish kingdom from Riga to the Dniester; but after 1808 Napoleon ignored the rising tide of national reaction which was to overwhelm him, and became a mere diplomatist. His constant success lured him on to a venture which he at times saw to be hazardous, but necessary to his policy of conquering England on the continent. And in truth his power and resources seemed equal to a contest with the forces of nature itself.

With his usual genius for organisation he had arranged all the details of the vastest expedition of modern times. His marshal Davoust, the victor of Auerstädt and Eckmühl, who ruled at Hamburg with the severity of an eastern satrap, had 200,000 ready to march eastwards from the Elbe (June 1811); and the kings of Saxony and Westphalia had large contingents on foot.

The position of Prussia became most painful: exposed to Napoleon's vengeance if she sided with Russia, and unable to remain neutral, she armed as if for a war *à outrance* in order to procure consideration from Napoleon; but finally she nominally allied herself with him, and agreed to furnish a contingent of troops to serve against Russia. Alexander, however, knew well that the alliance both of Austria and Prussia with Napoleon was only compulsory, and that these Powers would release themselves as soon as possible. Napoleon, in order to show his power to Europe,

held a levée of potentates at Dresden on his way to the Russian frontier. The Emperor of Austria saluted his son-in-law, the King of Prussia bowed before his conqueror, and the homage of a crowd of vassal kings and princes showed that the campaign would be an invasion of the East by the West.

Midsummer had passed before Napoleon crossed the Niemen at Kovno at the head of 155,000 French and 170,000 allied troops. Davoust, Ney, Oudinot, and St. Cyr were commanders of corps.[1] Napoleon's step-son Eugène, viceroy of Italy, commanded the Italian contingent; his brother Jerome the Westphalian divisions; and his brother-in-law Murat the cavalry. Macdonald with a Polish corps, and York with 20,000 Prussians, covered his left; while Schwarzenberg with 60,000 Austrians was to advance from Galicia to support his right. Marshal Victor marching from the Vistula, and Augereau from the Elbe, were to bring up reinforcements, so that the grand total was about half a million of men. A thousand pieces of cannon and innumerable convoys added to the vast difficulties of transport; in fact, the grand army was soon in want of food. Yet the comparative rapidity of Napoleon's movements at first surprised the smaller Russian forces and compelled them to evacuate the fortified camp of Drissa on the Duna, which was intended to cover the road either to St. Petersburg or Moscow. Pushing on to Vitebsk (July 12, 1812), the emperor seems to have thought of halting there until the spring of 1813, and reforming the ancient Lithuanian realm in union with that of Poland; there also he heard of the definite conclusion of peace between Russia and Turkey, which set free the Russian army on the Danube; but his unfailing success in the past, and his

[1] Berthier was Chief of the Staff.

determination to dictate peace at Moscow, drove him on to his fate.

Borodino.—Meanwhile the Russian army under Bagration, falling back from the banks of the Pripet, had at last joined at Smolensk Barclay's forces, which had been retreating before Napoleon's superior numbers : the combined Russian forces made a stout defence of this town against Napoleon's host (August 17, 1812), but they evacuated it in the night after setting it on fire—a warning of the desperate plan of national defence which was to drive Napoleon from Moscow. Meanwhile the Russians exclaimed loudly against the Fabian policy of retreat before the invader ; and the old Russian general Kutusoff, replacing the Lithuanian Barclay, made a stand at Borodino to save the ancient capital. On a semicircle of hills, defended by numerous redoubts, 100,000 Russians barred the passage of the river Moskwa to Napoleon's somewhat superior force : 400 cannon on each side made Borodino one of the most fatal combats of the 19th century. The Russians at first drove back Prince Eugène's troops, which had gained a lodgment at the centre ; but the support of Ney's division and the brilliant cavalry charge of Murat's squadrons at length carried the day, with fearful losses on both sides. Napoleon's victory might have been more decisive, if he had not spared his famous "Old Guard" in the crisis of the fight. He clung to that for a last resort, and events soon showed that his prudence was right.

Moscow.—The victorious French forces entered Moscow (September 14) to find it almost deserted by its own inhabitants. Meanwhile Macdonald had occupied Riga, and Schwarzenberg with his Austrians for a while kept off the Russian forces which were marching northward from the Pruth.

Victory had everywhere been on the side of Napoleon, and he had struck at the enemy's heart. But Alexander would not yield. Nay, more, only two days after their arrival the French troops were horror-stricken to find the city fired in several places. The governor of Moscow, Count Rostopchin, had resolved on this means of ousting the French, and a strong wind caused the destruction of large parts of this semi-oriental capital. Still Napoleon, with childish tenacity, continued the negotiations with which Alexander amused him, until winter, the Czar's "best ally," was commencing.

The Retreat.—Then on October 19 the conqueror found himself forced to retreat, for his huge army had little food or shelter in the charred and deserted capital. Hoping to find a southerly line of march less wasted by his own exactions, and by the devastating system of Russian defence, he made for Kaluga; but he was checked by the reassembled Russian forces and compelled to return through the exhausted district of Smolensk. A heavy fall of snow on November 9 completed the demoralisation of the suffering soldiery. Hunger, cold, and the pursuit of the Russians soon broke up the once magnificent army into a pitiable rabble, which was saved from total destruction only by the iron will of Marshal Ney, who protected the rear-guard with a body of picked troops.

At Krasnoi, near Smolensk, Kutusoff's attack ended in a defeat of the French, and the Russian armies marching from the Baltic and the Danube nearly cut off the Emperor's retreat at the river Beresina. But on his side Napoleon had been joined by his reserves from Poland, under Marshal Victor, who was shocked to find the "grand army" a mass of fugitives, less effective than his own corps. With this timely aid Napoleon skilfully

threw bridges over the river Beresina where the Russians did not expect, and fought his way across with his best troops; but the crowds of stragglers who pressed after him, under the fire of Russian artillery, broke down one of the bridges; the crossing of the Beresina (November 28, 1812) stands alone in modern history for its accumulation of horrors. Fresh reinforcements soon broke up in the general rout, and the utter exhaustion of the Russian pursuers alone saved the grand army from extermination. Quitting this mass of fugitives, Napoleon hurried incognito on to Paris to prevent any further outbreak, for a republican, General Mallet, had made a mad attempt to overthrow the empire; but its resources were as yet equal to the terrible strain of losing the finest army ever seen in modern times. Of half a million of soldiers who had crossed the Niemen with the emperor, or to reinforce him, barely 20,000 French, saved by Ney's heroism, recrossed that river at Kovno; but among this remnant were nearly all his best generals and part of his "Old Guard." These splendid commanders and troops were yet to show their genius and prowess over the young levies of Germany.

It must be remembered that about half of the troops who perished or remained prisoners in Russia were Poles, Germans, and Italians; so that the direct loss in men to the French Empire was partly counterbalanced by the loss of the German troops, who would soon have been arrayed as open enemies. Also Napoleon's habit of living on the countries which he occupied threw the loss in stores mainly on Prussia, Poland, and Russia; but when all these reservations are made, the retreat from Moscow still remains the "greatest disaster known to history."[1]

[1] Seeley, *Life of Stein*, Part vii, chap. 1.

CHAPTER XX.

The War of Liberation.—The Czar Alexander was strongly urged by many Russians, in view of their own terrible losses, to resume a defensive attitude, and not to aid in the restoration of the Prussian realm by following Napoleon's troops into Prussia; but these views were distasteful to the generous and enthusiastic nature of the czar, who wished to be the liberator of the continent, and the able German statesman Stein influenced him in taking this weighty decision. An equally important step was taken by the Prussian general York, commanding the 20,000 Prussians in Napoleon's service. On the last day but one of 1812 York signed a convention with the Russians that his troops should occupy the district between Memel and Tilsit as neutrals until orders came from his sovereign Frederick William. Stein hurried to Königsberg with a commission from the czar to arm East Prussia against Napoleon. The Prussian monarch, still under the power of the French at Berlin, at first disavowed the "treachery" of York and the bold innovation of Stein in urging the governor of East Prussia to assemble the estates of the province; but York was received with loud applause by the estates, and a vote was passed to call out the Landwehr and Landsturm of the province.[1]

[1] The Landwehr was a short-service army drawn from the whole population without exemptions; the Landsturm was a defensive militia.

Thus the first steps towards Prussia's liberation were taken by a general whom the king had disavowed, by the strong-willed statesman Stein, commissioned by the czar, and by the estates and people of East Prussia. The national movement now preceded and overshadowed the action of the government in Prussia; such was the new strength which Prussia had gained from the late reforms, instead of the helpless dependence on a central government which she showed after Jena. But finally Frederick William followed the national impulse, and at Breslau, March 16, 1813, the king declared war against Napoleon. The French troops had evacuated Berlin, and the Duke of Mecklenburg, whose duchy had been the last added to the Confederation of the Rhine, was the first to secede from it. So now the artificial alliance of Napoleon's vassal states against Russia is replaced by a national alliance of the peoples of eastern and central Europe against their oppressor.

Lützen.—The allies were ready before Napoleon, and set free the rest of Prussian territory from the French, whom they also drove from Hamburg and from part of Saxony. But Napoleon's energy soon united his young French conscripts with the older troops whom he had left to garrison German fortresses; so that he resumed the offensive at the head of 200,000 men. Austria, divided between fear of Napoleon and jealousy of the growing power of Russia, waited for events to shape her conduct.

Moving quickly along the valley of the Saale, he fell upon the allies near the historic field of Lützen, a few miles west of Leipzig. He beat them back, but was unable to pursue for want of the cavalry by which he had so often crushed his defeated foes. The death of Scharnhorst, who had organised victory for the Prussians, was keenly felt by the allies.

Bautzen.—This success decided the wavering King of Saxony to adhere to the Emperor's fortunes, though his people now favoured the allies; and at Bautzen (May 20), in East Saxony, the emperor again drove back the allies; but these victories brought small results to the victor, as the allies constantly received new troops. At the end of May Davoust recovered Hamburg for the emperor, and spread terror by his severities there and in Bremen; so on their side the allies were not loth to accept the armistice of Pleiswitz with Napoleon (June 4, 1813).

Intervention of Austria and Sweden.—Austrian statesmen never regarded the marriage of the Austrian archduchess with Napoleon as a final reconciliation with the conqueror who had stripped their realm of its Italian, Illyrian, Dalmatian, and Tyrolese provinces, but rather as a temporary expedient for gaining time. The astute statesman Metternich, who assumed control of Austrian diplomacy after the disaster of Wagram, had sought to ally Austria with France, and to wait for discord to arise between Napoleon and Alexander. He now awaited the best opportunity of restoring this exhausted State. The Vienna exchequer had to confess a State bankruptcy in 1811, and soon again in 1814.

The Austrian emperor now offered his mediation in the Congress of Prague, with a secret understanding that he would join the allies if Napoleon rejected their demands. These were—(1) the reconstruction of Prussia as she was before Jena; (2) the partition of the duchy of Warsaw between Russia, Prussia, and Austria; (3) the cession of the Illyrian provinces to Austria; and (4) the freedom of Hamburg and Lübeck. The allies were encouraged in insisting on these severe terms by the news of Wellington's complete success at Vittoria (Midsummer-day 1813).

Napoleon, however, knowing that such a surrender would lead to a revolution at Paris, preferred to struggle on with the hope of conquering fortune as he had done at Austerlitz, Friedland, and Wagram. But his troops were now mostly young conscripts drawn from a reluctant and exhausted France; though brave, they had not the nerve and steadiness of the troops lost in Russia. They fought for military renown, and for the sake of their great leader; while national enthusiasm was now on the side of the allies.[1]

In 1793 the French republican government had proclaimed "war against governments, peace to peoples": *now* the peoples waged war against the tyrant of the continent. The presence of two prominent Frenchmen among the allies showed that it was not against France as a nation, but against her ruler, that the war of liberation was waged. Moreau, the republican general who won Hohenlinden, returned from his exile in the United States to aid the Austrians with his counsels; and Bernadotte, bringing a Swedish contingent against the man who had bartered away Finland to Russia, and had then destroyed Swedish commerce, was placed at the head of the main Russian forces which protected Berlin. He proposed to evacuate the capital, retiring before a French division sent by Davoust from Hamburg; but Bülow, in spite of him, beat back the French at Grossbeeren, and saved Berlin (August 23, 1813).

[1] In fact, Napoleon now said of the German patriot Stein, who was the life and soul of the national movement in Prussia: "He wanted to raise the rabble against the proprietors. It is impossible to resist astonishment that rulers like the King of Prussia, and especially the Emperor Alexander, whom nature has endowed with so many noble qualities, should give the sanction of their names to designs as criminal as they are shocking" (Seeley, *Life of Stein*, vol. iii. p. 131).

Blücher, the dashing old Prussian general, was placed at the head of the allied army in Silesia, composed mainly of Russian troops. Napoleon, after forcing him back, had to leave with part of his large army of 150,000 to protect Dresden against the Austrians. Blücher then defeated the remaining 60,000 French, under Macdonald, opposed to him at the Katzbach stream, west of Breslau. But these two successes were counterbalanced by Napoleon's great victory over the Austrians under Schwarzenberg near **Dresden** (August 27, 1813). This victory (the last of Napoleon's great victories), which struck down his old rival Moreau, was rendered fruitless by a severe blow which his lieutenant Vandamme received at Kulm from the retreating Austrians. He was to have cut off their retreat into Bohemia by seizing the passes of the Erz Mountains, but the gallantry of a Russian corps held him at bay till he was himself surrounded and taken prisoner with 10,000 men. Bernadotte's advice to the allies to attack Napoleon's lieutenants was also successful at Dennewitz (September 6), where Ney's advance on Berlin was stopped by Bülow.

Leipzig.—These four defeats of the emperor's lieutenants, the defection of Bavaria from the Rhenish Confederation,[1] and the collapse of the vassal kingdom of Westphalia on the approach of a force of Cossacks, convinced the allies that the long-planned concentration of their armies on Leipzig might now overthrow the emperor himself. After vainly attempting to surprise one of the three armies which

[1] Bavaria signed a secret treaty with Austria (October 8) to furnish 36,000 men for the allies, restoring to Austria her Tyrolese frontier in return for complete sovereignty in her own territories. Thus was the foundation laid for the reconstruction of Germany at the Congress of Vienna. (Stein, vol. iii. p. 177.)

now threatened to cut him off from the Rhine, Napoleon was forced to leave Dresden, his centre of operations, with a strong garrison, and march towards Leipzig. Around this town was fought the greatest series of battles in all modern history. Napoleon, with nearly 200,000 French, Saxons, Hessians, Poles, and troops of Würtemberg and Baden, was gradually overpowered in five days of fighting by nearly 300,000 Austrians, Russians, Prussians, and Swedes. In this "battle of the nations," as it is fitly called, some Saxon regiments, fighting under Napoleon only by compulsion, passed over to the allies, and his forces were driven back on the town of Leipzig. Forced to evacuate this town by the fire of the allies, his troops were hurrying along the bridge which leads westward over the Elster, when, in the confusion the order to blow up the bridge was given too soon, and crowds of prisoners, with 300 cannon, fell into the hands of the allies; 80,000 lives are said to have been lost in these battles around Leipzig. Napoleon, hastening towards the Rhine, was overtaken at Freiberg, where the bridge again broke, as at the Beresina, under the mass of fugitives; but at Hanau, near the Maine (October 30, 1813), he broke his way through the Bavarians under Wrede, who opposed his retreat, and led the wreck of his great army across the Rhine.

Collapse of Napoleon's power. — The artificial character of the Napoleonic domination in Germany was at once seen. General St. Cyr had to surrender the important fortress of Dresden with 35,000 men. Danzig, annexed by Napoleon to the duchy of Warsaw, after suffering terribly from the exactions of the French troops quartered on its inhabitants, at last regained its freedom. The cities of Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen successively shook off Davoust's tyranny, and regained the

liberty of trade with England by the sudden collapse of the "continental system." Denmark concluded peace with the allies at Kiel, and engaged to cede Norway to Sweden, which had rendered such opportune aid to the allies. The princes of the Rhenish Confederation hastened to appease the allies by joining the winning side. They all received a contemptuous pardon except Jerome, King of Westphalia, the King of Saxony, and a few of the minor vassals of Napoleon. Jerome fled from his realm as soon as his French troops were withdrawn; and the King of Saxony was soon to lose a great part of his realm for his ill-judged adherence to a falling cause. The Rhenish provinces were soon occupied by Prussian troops, and altogether about 100,000 French troops cut off in German fortresses were forced gradually to surrender.

The Dutch, whose commerce was ruined and whose colonies were captured, rose against the French troops which had lived on their unfortunate land. Regaining their freedom, they now formed a provisional government for the Prince of Orange, who soon assumed the title of king. Lastly, Murat, who had never been on cordial terms with his brother-in-law, thought to secure to himself the crown of Naples by joining the allies. In North Italy alone, Eugène Beauharnais remained faithful to the Emperor, who had divorced his mother, Josephine Beauharnais, in order to give solidity to the imperial system.

In France the solid benefits which Napoleon had conferred on the country even yet survived the fearful drain which he had made on the strength and patriotism of the country. The French people, with their acute sensitiveness to genius, still worshipped the strength and vigour of the emperor; he now, of his own will, prolonged the useless slaughter, for, at a time when the three large allied armies

were approaching the Rhine, and when Wellington had beaten back the French across the Pyrenees, the allies offered Napoleon the Rhine and the Maritime Alps as the "natural frontiers" of France. These favourable terms, which would have left Belgium, the Rhine Province, Savoy, and Nice to France, as after the revolutionary wars, were rejected by the Emperor; and the allies entered France on the east, and Wellington invaded the south.

Invasion of France.—The Austrians under Schwarzenberg, violating Swiss territory, as Napoleon had often done, crossed the Rhine at Bâle and marched towards Dijon. Blücher, with the Russo-Prussian army, defeated the French at La Rothière (February 1); but, as he spread out his line of march, Napoleon, with smaller numbers, beat the allies in four combats on four days (February 10-13, 1814) by taking advantage of temporary divisions in their forces. But now the northern army of the allies was advancing from Belgium under General Bülow; and Napoleon was obliged to defend Paris from the Austrians, who were marching down the Seine. After checking them at Montereau (February 18, 1814) and forcing them back on Troyes, he turned on Blücher, who had marched northwards by the Marne valley to join Bülow's troops; but he failed to check the Prussians at Laon (March 10, 1814). With diminished but still undaunted forces he hurried south to stop the Austrians, who were in a half-hearted way resuming their march down the Seine; but the weight of numbers on their side withstood Napoleon's onslaught at Arcis-sur-Aube (March 20). These rapid marches from one river valley to another, and these useless fights, were wearing down his small heroic forces. Knowing that the Austrian emperor and Metternich were most jealous of the growing importance of Prussia, and hoping to discourage the allies by a brilliant stroke,

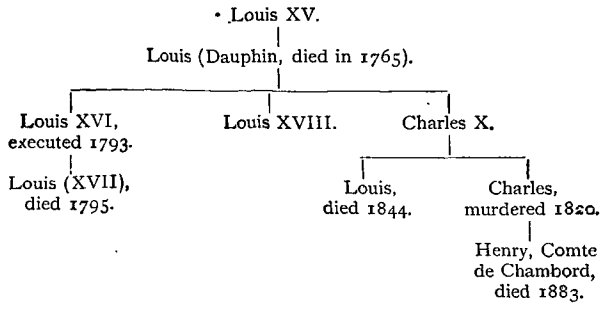
he disengaged his army and marched boldly towards Lorraine to cut their communications with Germany. But the allies, with equal boldness, determined to strike at Paris, now left almost unguarded. So, leaving a division behind them to mask their movements, they flung their main forces on Marmont and Mortier's defending force of 20,000 men (March 30, 1814); the heights of Montmartre and Belleville were carried, and Napoleon hurried up too late to save his capital. The allies had turned against their great opponent his own tactics of striking at the heart, and when the heart of Napoleon's centralised system was struck, the blow was fatal.

Abdication.—The Senate, composed of his own nominees, now demanded his abdication; the wily Talleyrand aided in the fall of the man who had made him Prince of Benevento; and most of the marshals abandoned their chief, who would still have shed French blood in useless war. In truth, that exhausted country now experienced some of the ills which her armies had been inflicting on central Europe. "It was an entire nation" (wrote Guizot) "of wearied spectators who had long given up all interference in their own fate, and knew not what catastrophe they were to hope or fear." Wellington was already at Toulouse, where he defeated his old opponent, Soult, for the last time (April 10, 1814). On the next day Napoleon formally abdicated, and taking a touching adieu of the imperial standard and guard at Fontainebleau, he departed for Elba, the sovereignty of which was allotted to him by the allies. There the master of half Europe was to exercise his ruling power, almost within sight of his native island of Corsica.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE RESTORATION.

THE BOURBON HOUSE (ELDER BRANCH).



Louis XVIII (1814-1824).—The French Senate called to the throne the second brother of Louis XVI under the title of Louis XVIII, though the son of the former had never ruled, having died in the Temple prison in 1795. The new monarch, elderly, peaceable, with the phlegmatic nature and huge appetite of the Bourbons, could not long satisfy an ardent people who had worshipped a genius; but, under the influence of the czar, Louis granted a **Constitutional Charter** to France (June 4), establishing a Chamber of Deputies elected by all who paid more than 300 francs in direct taxes, and a Chamber of Peers nominated by the king. These Chambers

were not to initiate legislation, but could discuss or reject measures proposed by the Crown—a privilege not allowed by Napoleon to his subservient Assemblies. Liberty of worship, of the press, and the inviolability of the sales of land made by the National Assembly in 1792, were also recognised, and all public offices were thrown open to all classes. Thus most of the social changes and many of the political reforms of the Revolution were retained by the king. In fact, Louis himself held the philosophic Liberal principles of the eighteenth century, but his younger brother, the Comte d'Artois, afterwards Charles X, who had led the way in the "first emigration" of 1789, had "learned nothing and forgotten nothing" in his exile of a quarter of a century. He and the returned emigrant nobles soon gave offence by their proud disregard of changes which the years between 1789 and 1814 had made in the habits of the French people; and Napoleon's veterans, feeling themselves slighted, turned their thoughts towards Elba. Above all, the national pride was wounded by the Treaty of Paris, hastily signed by Talleyrand (May 30, 1814), which reduced France to the limits of 1792 by detaching Belgium, the Rhine province, Savoy, and Nice.[1]

First Congress of Vienna. — Subsequently, in the Congress held at Vienna the allies began to quarrel over the spoils of war. Russia claimed the duchy of Warsaw, most of which before Tilsit had for fourteen years belonged to Prussia, and the latter power aroused Austrian enmity by claiming the whole of Saxony as the price of the fidelity of its king to Napoleon, while the reconstruction of the smaller German

[1] France, however, was to pay no war indemnity, nor restore the works of art taken from foreign capitals, except the horses of the Brandenburg gate at Berlin. France regained all the colonies conquered by the British except Mauritius, the Seychelles, Tobago, and St. Lucia.

States promised to take years of discussion even if under the headship of Austria and Prussia they were grouped into a great federation which might form a barrier to French aggression. Finally, a secret alliance was even arrived at between Austria, France, and England, against the absorption of Saxony by Prussia and of Poland by Russia.

The Hundred Days.—After five months of dissension, the allied Powers were forced into union again by the news that Napoleon had landed in France. Carelessly guarded by one English frigate, he had embarked about 1000 men on merchant ships and landed at Antibes (March 1, 1815). Taking the mountain road to Grenoble, he was there enthusiastically received by his old soldiers. Ney on setting out from Paris remarked that Napoleon ought to be brought back in an iron cage, but he soon came under the spell of the old military enthusiasm and adhered to Napoleon's fortunes. With troops joining him at every town Napoleon marched on Paris, whence Louis XVIII fled amidst the utmost confusion.

Without a shot fired on his side Napoleon entered the Tuileries (March 20), and soon issued a proclamation announcing his peaceful intentions and his desire to found free institutions in France. Undeceived by these promises, the allies proclaimed him a public enemy to Europe and set their forces in motion against him. He on his side now had about 100,000 French soldiers who, in the last campaign of 1814, had been shut up in German fortresses. So with a total of 120,000 men he was able to assume the offensive on Belgium, where some English troops were already engaged in establishing the Dutch sovereignty.[1] Joined by numerous German, Dutch, and Belgian corps, Wellington's army at first numbered nearly 100,000 men,

[1] See p. 158 on the "Reconstruction of Europe."

of whom little more than a third were English. Blücher led 115,000 Prussians through Belgium to join Wellington, but before the junction was effected Napoleon defeated the Prussians around the village of Ligny (June 16, 1815), which was taken and re-taken several times in desperate charges. On the same day Ney tried in vain to force Wellington's army back at Quatre-Bras. Wellington, however, fell back on Waterloo to cover the highroad to Brussels, and to give Blücher time to join him. The Prussians, pursued by Grouchy, left a small corps to mask their movements, while the stalwart veteran Blücher, undaunted by defeat and his own wound, with the main body strained every nerve to reach Waterloo.

Waterloo.—There, on Sunday, June 18, 1815, Wellington held his own from noon to sunset against superior forces, and in spite of the half-hearted support and early retreat of many of his Dutch-Belgian regiments. Napoleon's attack on the farm of Hougoumont was stoutly repelled, but the French finally carried the important post of La Haye Sainte, held by the German Legion. Charge after charge of 10,000 of the best cavalry in France upon the hard-pressed British squares was as gallantly beaten back by Wellington's young English levies: at this time Bülow's and Blücher's attacks were serious, and Napoleon made a last desperate effort to keep back the Prussians while he hurled his famous "Old Guard" and the reserves of French infantry on Wellington's centre; but the English guards threw them into confusion by sudden volleys at close quarters, and a general advance of Wellington's and Blücher's forces swept away the "Guard" which had so long been the terror of Europe. Napoleon's last army was disbanded or destroyed, and he himself barely reached Paris. The Chambers, which he had summoned, at once

demanded his abdication, and Fouché, the regicide in 1793, now treated with the royalist party, which joined the allies in demanding the return of Louis XVIII.

As on his first abdication, so now again Napoleon named his young son as his successor with the title of Napoleon II; but he was never recognised by the French Chambers or nation.[1] Napoleon hurried to the coast with the hope of escaping to the United States as a new possible starting-point of attack on the British Empire; but English cruisers off Rochefort watched his movements, and he surrendered himself to the captain of the *Bellerophon* (July 15, 1815).

St. Helena.—Thus ended the "Hundred Days," during which about 40,000 soldiers lost their lives. This result of Napoleon's escape from Elba decided the British Government to prevent further bloodshed in Europe by confining Napoleon to the lonely isle of St. Helena. There he lived on for six years, with constant complaints against the constraints of a captivity less rigorous than that which he had inflicted on the harmless old Pius VII at Savona. His remains were brought to France and placed with great pomp in the Invalides at Paris in the reign of Louis Philippe.

Thus passed away from Europe, at the age of forty-six, the most remarkable man of modern times. Dazzled by his romantic career, the French people soon forgot that he had overthrown their republic and left their country smaller than it was when he became First Consul. Beginning life at a time when France was crying out for a strong hand to curb anarchy, the young Bonaparte saw what could be achieved by a firm ruler who could crush the excesses but

[1] Napoleon's wife Maria Louisa was made Duchess of Parma, and their son lived at Vienna with his imperial grandfather under the title of the Duke of Reichstadt; he died in 1832. Napoleon's other crowned relatives were pensioned off with duchies or baronies—except Murat (see p. 158).

retain the practicable reforms of the Revolution. With equal ability the young general devoted to his own service the enthusiasm of the French soldiery, already trained to conquer by the revolutionary wars. The vast resources thus gained by him as Consul were wielded with a domineering will; and his powers of organisation, of evolving order out of chaos all over his vast empire, were on a par with his military genius. In fact, his clear-cut, unemotional nature left him with no weak point save his absence of moral restraint, and, in later life, his lack of all sense of proportion in his schemes. These two defects, nurtured by his own success, led him to dare all and lose all.

Like all powerful natures, Napoleon owed much of his success to his gift of calling forth and utilising the talents of others. Thus his Code, which forms the most enduring part of his work in France, Italy, and Western Germany, was almost entirely the work of men whose names are well-nigh forgotten. So, in his military career, the victory of Marengo was due to Kellermann and Desaix, who in fact snatched victory from defeat. The glory of Jena is properly eclipsed by Davoust's rout of superior Prussian forces at Auerstädt on the same day, while the overwhelming triumph of Friedland must be largely attributed to Lannes and Ney respectively. But a Napoleonic legend soon sprang up, which represented its hero as invincible, save for the treason of subordinates. To this legend France owed the imperialist revival of 1852-1870 with its finale of crushing disaster. Equally important is it to observe that during the Napoleonic supremacy Germans and Italians came to understand the essential unity of their races; and the reforms emanating from the Emperor, or from Stein, endowed them with strength to break away ultimately from the cramping arrangements imposed on them in 1815.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE BONAPARTE FAMILY.

Joseph (King of Spain).
Napoleon (born Aug. 15, 1769, died May 5, 1821).
King of Rome or Duc de Reichstadt (died 1832).
Lucien.
Elise.
Louis Napoleon (King of Holland), married Hortense Beauharnais.
Charles Napoleon.
Louis Napoleon (Napoleon III).
Eugène Napoleon, killed in Zululand (June 1, 1879).
Pauline.
Caroline, married Murat (King of Naples).
Jerome (King of Westphalia)
Napoleon-Joseph, married daughter of Victor Emmanuel II.
Victor.

CHAPTER XXII.

RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE.

WHEN the allied troops again entered Paris, Blücher was with difficulty restrained by the calmer judgment of his king and of Wellington from blowing up the bridge of Jena. The wrath of the old "Marshal Forwards," as he was called by his soldiers, who had seen his own country for seven years crushed by France, was further expressed in his desire to partition France as Germany had been parcelled out by Napoleon; and his views were shared by many of the Prussian "patriots." Less extreme views were held by the Prussian king; and the practical good sense of the Duke of Wellington, who had been named Generalissimo of the allied armies in Paris, soon achieved as great a success in diplomacy as his skill and foresight had won in baffling all the best French marshals in Spain.

Alexander—The Holy Alliance.—The allies in Paris were soon joined by a monarch, whose pre-eminent services in the overthrow of Napoleon gave overpowering weight to the party of moderation. The Czar Alexander, as the generous and powerful rival and conqueror of Napoleon, was almost worshipped by the royalists of Paris; and his chivalrous nature was shown by his accord with Wellington not to press hard on France now that she was freed from Napoleon. To his devout but somewhat dreamy and

N.B. The red boundary line indicates the extent of the German Confederation of 1815 - 1866

London: Edward Stanford.

unpractical mind was soon suggested a scheme of applying Christian principles to politics as a protest against the gospel of force which had prevailed since the Treaty of Campo Formio; but under the skilful management of Metternich this so-called "Holy Alliance" (September 26, 1815), concluded between the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, was soon to become a means of thwarting Liberal principles all over the continent of Europe; for Metternich himself has described the Alliance as a "loud-sounding nothing"; and it was this "pillar of order" (as he called himself) who was soon the leading spirit in the reactionary policy of the continental States. The destinies of Europe were to be moulded by a second congress, in which England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia took the chief part; and it was soon seen that the high ideals of the Holy Alliance were not to have any practical application. A more definite policy was set forth in the Quadruple Alliance (Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain), which bound these Powers to the support of the Bourbons in France, and to the perpetual exclusion of Napoleon. The following were the results of the Congress of Vienna:—

France.—The old difficulties about Poland and Saxony had been increased by the demand of Prussia that Central Europe should disarm France by the cession to Prussia and Germany of the north-eastern frontier fortresses and of the entire provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. Against this the Czar Alexander and the English envoys wisely urged that such a terrible loss would weaken the new Bourbon ruler in France, and cause his people to risk everything for the recovery of provinces taken from Germany so long ago;[1]

[1] Metz, Toul, and Verdun were taken by Henri II in 1552. Strassburg was seized by Louis XIV in 1681 in time of peace, when Germany was weak.

and finally, that a still divided Germany was not strong enough to hold them against permanent French hostility. Wellington himself admitted that "France was left in too great strength for the peace of Europe," and Hardenberg vainly protested with prophetic foresight, "If we let slip this opportunity streams of blood will flow to attain this object." But Russia's interest in the "Eastern Question" was best served by leaving France as a strong power to counterbalance Prussia and Austria. So in the end France gained slightly on her old territories of 1789 by the addition of Avignon and small parts of Savoy and Alsace, which last province ceased to have any connection with Germany.

Prussia.—Scarcely less important was the dispute about Saxony. Austria, Russia, England, and the smaller German States protested against the complete absorption of Saxony by Prussia. After bringing the Powers to the very verge of war this dispute was settled by Prussia receiving nearly half of the enlarged realm of Saxony, which was thus reduced to its present size. Prussia also gained the rich and populous Rhine province, with a population of over a million, mostly Roman Catholics. Of the duchy of Warsaw, which had been Prussian territory from 1793 to 1807, she regained only the district of Thorn and the province of Posen, which gave her the gradually rounded frontier, connecting East Prussia with Silesia, which she still holds. By the acquisition of Swedish Pomerania, Rügen,[1] and a great part of Jerome's kingdom of Westphalia, Prussia further gained a large German population which more than compensated in numbers and patriotism for her loss of the Poles in the East. Henceforth she became the natural guardian of Germany against Russia and France, for she now

[1] She gained Swedish Pomerania and Rügen by a complicated series of exchanges.

touched France on the south-west; and though her new subjects in the western provinces were sundered from her main territory by Hesse and Hanover, and, after being long subject to the Napoleonic rule, were for some time lukewarm in their patriotism, yet these difficulties and responsibilities only served in the end to develop the vigour of Prussian statesmen in their championship of Germany. Thus Prussia, after being nearly crushed out of existence by Napoleon, rose to a position of greater power than she held at the death of Frederick the Great in 1786.

Austria.—Austria, on the contrary, had long desired to give up her distant Flemish subjects, who were disaffected towards her and could at any time embroil her with France; by also relinquishing her old rights in Alsace and South Baden, she no longer touched France; but by thus limiting her responsibilities in the defence of Germany she virtually handed over to her vigorous northern rival the championship of the new German Confederation. For these losses Austria recouped herself by regaining the provinces of Illyria, Tyrol, Vorarlberg, and Carinthia, together with her newer possessions, also wrested from her by Napoleon—viz. Lombardy-Venetia, Salzburg, Dalmatia in the south, and the part of Galicia ceded to the duchy of Warsaw. Thus, with the exception of the western provinces, Austria's gains were in Sclavonic and Italian peoples. Her territorial gains, which seemed to the clever but superficial Metternich to involve little danger, again raised her to the dignity from which Austerlitz and Wagram had hurled her; but she was now not so much a German as a Sclavonic power, and the paternal despotism of the emperor at Vienna was soon to find more and more difficulty in holding together his diverse peoples.

The German Confederation.—After wearisome dis-

putes on this tangled question, the thirty-nine States which had survived the ruin of the Holy Roman Empire were formed into a German Confederation, which was well-nigh as cumbrous in its constitution as its venerable predecessor had been. Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Würtemberg, Baden, the two Hesses, Brunswick, Mecklenburg, and other smaller States, with the free cities Lübeck, Frankfurt-on-the-Main, Bremen, and Hamburg, composed this vast Confederation. It numbered 54,000,000 inhabitants. Denmark, on account of her king's rights over the German duchy of Holstein, and Holland, on account of her king's duchy of Luxemburg, had a voice in its affairs. Austria held the permanent presidency; but both she and Prussia were altogether outvoted by the petty princes, most of whom had one vote. The thirteenth article of the constitution declared that each State should grant a constitution to its people, but it was soon seen that this vague promise was to be cancelled in the general tide of reaction which from Vienna spread over the continent; and the bitter disappointment felt by the Prussian and German patriots who had fought for king and country in the belief that a liberal constitution would be granted, gave for many years a bitter tone to German thought and feeling, culminating in 1830 and 1848. Of the smaller German States Hanover was raised to the rank of a kingdom for its ruler George III of England, with the addition of East Frisia, which had formed Prussia's North Sea coast line. Bavaria, thanks to her timely defection from Napoleon, received the Rhenish Palatinate; while Baden gained in the South. Throughout the greater part of West Germany and the Rhine Province of Prussia the Napoleonic code continued in force, and not until our own days has it been replaced by the new imperial Code of Germany.

Italy—Fall of Murat.—Murat had ended his acts of duplicity by preparing to invade Northern Italy with his Neapolitan troops, giving out that he came to attack the French Bourbons who wished to restore Ferdinand to his former throne of Naples.

The Austrians attacked Murat in April 1815, as he advanced northwards after hearing of Napoleon's successful landing in France. He aroused some enthusiasm by proclaiming the unity and independence of Italy; but after reaching Bologna he was obliged to retreat, and soon fled to join Napoleon, who would have nothing to do with him. An English squadron and Austrian troops restored the detested Ferdinand to his throne of Naples in May 1815. Meanwhile Murat had taken refuge in Corsica, and after Waterloo he made a second attempt to rouse Italy in his favour; but on his landing he was seized and shot—an ignominious end for the bravest and most brilliant of Napoleon's relatives (October 13, 1815).

For two centuries French or Austrian influence had striven for the mastery in Italy. The downfall of Napoleon and his representatives in the north and south, Eugène Beauharnais and Murat, seemed to be quite naturally followed by the ascendency of Austria.[1] She now added to her old province of Milan the whole of the rich province of Venetia, first handed over to her by Napoleon at Campo Formio and then retaken by the treaty of Presburg. The duchies of Tuscany, Modena, and Parma, were also bestowed on the younger branches of the House of Hapsburg. Met-

[1] In fact, Austria bore a mandate from the Powers assembled at Vienna, to oust French influence from the distracted Italian peninsula, somewhat similar to that with which she was commissioned by the Berlin Congress in 1878 to counteract Russian influence in the Balkan peninsula; but her conduct in the latter case has been more constitutional.

ternich's policy was all-powerful in the States of Central and South Italy.

The restoration of the kings of Sardinia and Naples to their realms, and of the once captive Pope Pius VII to his States, completed the triumph of reaction in Italy; and this was especially seen—firstly, in the forcible annexation of the republic of Genoa to the kingdom of Sardinia, which was in nowise strengthened by the addition of a coast line and city hostile to Piedmont and a hotbed of revolutionary intrigue; secondly, by the speedy suppression of the free Sicilian constitution which had been forced by Lord Bentinck on King Ferdinand while he was a refugee in Sicily, protected by the British fleet.

Thus it was no chance result that Genoa and Sicily were soon in the van of the struggle for Italian unity and liberty. Genoa was ever urging on the ruler of Sardinia to a "forward" policy, and she supplied many of the leaders in the struggle; while Sicily was rightly judged by Mazzini to be the best starting-point for the attack on the despotism of South Italy (1860).

Russia.—This power had been advancing with giant strides ever since the conquest of the Crimea (1774) had opened the Black Sea to her influence. The first partition of Poland in 1772 had extended her western frontier from Smolensk to Witebsk; the second, in 1793, to Pinsk; the third, in 1795, to the rivers Niemen and Bug.

The treaty of Tilsit gave her the district of Bialystock out of Prussia's share of the booty, and now the peace of 1815, besides assuring to her all her recent acquisitions in Finland, Podolia, and Bessarabia, handed over to her all the grand-duchy of Warsaw, except the districts of Posen and Thorn. Thus she now acquired the solid block of territory which divides East Prussia from Galicia; and the

tiny republic of Cracow was all that remained of the once great Polish kingdom. In the east, Russia was fast becoming a great Asiatic Power by the conquest of Siberia and Georgia, which brought her near to the borders of China and Persia respectively. Well might Napoleon say, "In fifty years Europe will be republican or Cossack."

Great Britain.—In Europe itself Great Britain had gained less than any of the successful allies, viz. Malta, Heligoland, and a protectorate over the Ionian Isles; but she had been growing during these years of strife into a world-wide power, in spite of all Napoleon's efforts to conquer or starve her. The capture of Seringapatam, of Delhi (1803), and the Mahratta war were completing the conquest of India. The easy conquest of the Dutch and French colonies gave her new power in every sea; while the gradual settlement of New South Wales was ensuring a peaceful conquest of the great southern "isle of continent."

Indeed, it is a curious comment on the instability of mere military triumphs that those very Powers against which Napoleon directed all his might in the end gained most largely from France and her allies.

The New World.—The financial needs of Napoleon furthered the progress of the other great branch of the English race, for in 1803 he sold to the United States the vast territory called Louisiana at a cost of something like a penny per acre, and thus opened to our kinsmen the vast prairies up to and beyond the Mississippi. It will be seen also[1] that the Napoleonic wars hastened the severance of Central and South America from Spain and Portugal.

[1] Pages 184-186.

The Scandinavian Countries.—As compensation for the loss of Finland and her small part of Pomerania, Sweden received Norway, which had formerly belonged to the Danish crown. Norway had been thus bargained away by the allies as the price of Swedish assistance in the War of Liberation, when the Danish ruler unwisely adhered to Napoleon's fortunes. The transfer of a democratic country like Norway to the Swedish feudal monarchy was not effected without much resistance, which was overcome by a demonstration of a British fleet (1814); but this forced union of Norway and Sweden was to lead to much friction, which ended in the separation of the two lands (1905).

Denmark received a petty compensation for her losses in the annexation of Lauenburg, a small duchy north of the Elbe: she retained her old supremacy in Schleswig-Holstein, and also her hold over Iceland and the Faroe Isles, which had been regarded as dependencies of Norway. (See pp. 456, 458.)

The Netherlands.—The Belgians, united to the French by ties of religion, language, and twenty years of common rule, desired to remain united to France, or to form an independent republic; but the allies determined to compensate Holland for her terrible losses[1] at home and abroad by adding on the Belgian Netherlands: they hoped thus to build up against France a strong barrier on the north. So they united the Catholic Flemish provinces to Protestant Holland, which had recently been raised to the rank of a kingdom under the son of its former hereditary stadholder, William of Orange. This forcible union was not to last more than fifteen years. (See pages 195-197.)

Switzerland (continued from pages 64, 120), by regain-

[1] Holland lost Ceylon and the Cape.

ing Geneva, Valais, and Neufchâtel, now consisted of twenty two cantons, and the Confederation was now declared by the Congress of Vienna to be placed under the guarantee of perpetual neutrality; but the King of Prussia[1] again became Prince of Neufchâtel, until the disputes of 1857 put an end to this anomaly of a principality forming part of a republican Confederacy.

The Bernese oligarchs, who had lost their supremacy in 1798 by the establishment of the Helvetic Republic, now made an effort to regain all their powers and privileges over the cantons once subject to them. The new "Federal Pact" of 1815 loosened the union of the cantons and enacted that the cantonal constitutions should be recognised by the central Diet, the presidency of which was to belong to the head cantons of Berne, Zurich, and Lucerne in turns. Napoleon's act had abolished cantonal customs dues; they were now re-established, and cantonal governments reappeared in their patriarchal form, though the social changes wrought by Napoleon remained. (Continued on page 200.)

Recapitulation.—Although hampered by previous bargains and beset by dynastic traditions, the Congress of Vienna made a great advance towards the settlement of Europe on its modern basis. The terrible convulsions of the last twenty years had overthrown many unnatural combinations of States and peoples; and now, in spite of obvious and glaring mistakes, these were remodelled in a more natural manner. Thus France ceased to have any German subjects, except those in her old possessions of Alsace and Lorraine.

The organisation of Germany was now less cum-

[1] After Jena, Napoleon had given Neufchâtel to his own general, Berthier. The Powers also recognised the neutrality of Savoy.

brous, and its divisions less minute, than under the old empire.

Prussia approached more nearly to her natural limits by becoming the chief German power, while she lost most of her Polish possessions gained in 1793-1795.

Russia had now become a vast Sclavonic power. Great Britain, though gaining next to nothing in Europe, had acquired the empire of the seas.

Sweden and Denmark lost their European lands across the Baltic and the Cattegat respectively, and were now limited to their own peninsulas.

The statesmen at Vienna were, however, too much bound by the bargains of the allies in 1813 and 1814 to give due weight to the rising feeling of nationality; indeed the superficial Metternich, ready as he was to barter away peoples like so much live stock from one owner to another, could not see that the arrangements in Italy, Belgium, Schleswig-Holstein, Poland, and in the Germanic Confederation, were mere makeshifts, certain to be swept away by popular risings.

The Congress closed by declaring the freedom of navigation of European rivers, and by condemning the slave trade. England had abolished her slave trade in 1807, and the French reformers in 1790 had aimed a blow at the infamous traffic by proclaiming the liberty and equality of all mankind. Now, in 1815, sterner measures against slave-owners were only waived by the Powers on the strenuous opposition of Spain and Portugal. France definitely abolished her slave trade in 1815.

The Peace.—For the next forty years Europe enjoyed comparative freedom from war, except in Spain, Turkey, the Netherlands, Poland, and Hungary.

After nearly twenty years of the most tremendous wars known in all history, it might be expected that undisturbed repose would follow for a like period; but the years of war had also been years of social upheaval and change, so the ensuing peace resembled the exhaustion which follows fever rather than the calm repose of healthy toil. Even our own country, which had passed through the tempest without invasion or revolution, was completely exhausted by its financial efforts as paymaster of the coalitions; and our subsequent history has been overshadowed by the crushing burden of debt and taxation.[1]

Still greater was the distress on the continent, which had been in nearly every part devastated by war. Even the few districts, as Western France, South Italy, East Hungary, the south and north of Russia, which had not been the scenes of regular warfare, were drained of men to fight for or against Napoleon. The disbanding of armies threw numbers of men on the labour-market; while the new conditions of industry caused by the gradual extension of labour-saving machinery began to ruin many cottage industries and concentrate artisans in large

[1] NATIONAL DEBT.

	DATES.	
	1793.	1816.
Great Britain . .	£248,000,000	£900,000,000
France . . .	32,000,000	140,000,000
Germany . . .	.....	53,000,000
Russia . . .	30,000,000	50,000,000
Austria . . .	20,000,000	99,000,000

[1] The British Debt includes "terminable annuities." Those of the other States are difficult to assess with precision.

manufactories and crowded towns. Thus the new era brought discontent, which reached its climax where men had been promised the privileges of constitutional government, and where those promises were now deliberately set aside.

CHAPTER XXIII.

FRANCE (1815-1830).

LOUIS XVIII (1815-1824). CHARLES X (1824-1830).

LOUIS XVIII re-entered his capital only twenty days after the battle of Waterloo. The satisfaction of the well-to-do citizens was cooled by the terms of the new treaty of peace; yet the allies did not press severely on France. After Leipzig they had offered Napoleon the Rhine frontier, after his first abdication they left France with frontiers slightly in advance of those of 1789, and now she was left with practically the same frontiers as before Waterloo; but she had to pay a war indemnity of £40,000,000, to submit to the occupation of her northern and eastern provinces by 150,000 of the allied troops for a period not exceeding five years, and also to restore the works of art of which Napoleon had rifled the cities of Italy and Germany.

Thus France was defeated but not crushed. Indeed she had gained Avignon and some districts of Alsace since 1792, besides acquiring social and political stability by having millions of peasants as small proprietors in the soil; moreover, as Napoleon always waged his wars at the expense of his conquered foes, the French national debt was after all the wars only one-sixth of the debt of Great Britain.[1] So France soon rose to a position of strength and prosperity

[1] See p. 161.

hardly equalled in all Europe, in spite of bad harvests, political unrest, and the foreign occupation which ended in 1818.[1]

Reactionary Measures.—The royalists, after a quarter of a century of repression, now revenged themselves with truly French vehemence. In France a victorious party generally crushes its opponents; and the elections, held during the full swing of the royalist reaction, sent up to Paris a Legislative Assembly "more royalist than the king himself." Before it assembled, Louis XVIII, in spite of his promise only to punish those who were declared by the Assembly to be traitors, proscribed fifty-seven persons who had deserted to Napoleon in the "Hundred Days." This list was drawn up by Fouché, who had in 1793 voted for the death of Louis XVI, and now showed the zeal of a renegade in the service of the new monarch: of the proscribed men thirty-eight were banished and a few were shot. Among the latter the most illustrious was Marshal Ney, whose past bravery did not shield him from the extreme penalty for the betrayal of the military oath. Condemned to death by the Chamber of Peers, he met his fate like the hero of Friedland and of the Russian campaign: "Soldiers, aim straight at the heart," were his last words. This impolitic execution rankled deep in the breasts of all Napoleon's old soldiers, but for the present all opposition was swept away in the furious tide of reaction. Brune, one of Napoleon's marshals, was killed by the royalist populace of Avignon; and the Protestants of the south,

[1] The celebrated words that Louis would occupy his chair of state on the Pont de Jéna when Blücher intended to blow it up, were invented for the king by the Comte de Beugnot, who also placed in the mouth of the Comte d'Artois on his return to France the patriotic phrase, "There is one Frenchman more."

who were suspected of favouring Napoleon's home policy, suffered terrible outrages at Nîmes and Uzès in this "white terror."[1]

The restored monarchy had far stronger executive powers than the old system wielded before 1789, for it now drew into its hands the centralised powers which, under the Directory and the Empire, had replaced the old cumbrous provincial system; but even this gain of power did not satisfy the hot-headed royalists of the Chamber. They instituted judicial courts under a provost (*prévôt*), which passed severe sentences without right of appeal.

Dismissing the comparatively Liberal ministers Talleyrand and Fouché, Louis in September 1816 summoned a more royalist ministry under the Duc de Richelieu, which was itself hurried on by the reactionaries. Chateaubriand fanned the flames of royalist passion by his writings, until the king even found it necessary to dissolve this mischievous Chamber, and the new deputies who assembled (February 1817) showed a more moderate spirit.

France was soon delivered from the foreign armies of occupation, for the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, meeting at Aix-la-Chapelle (September 1818) in order to combat revolutionary attempts, decided that an early evacuation of French territory would strengthen the Bourbon rule in France; and they renewed the Quadruple Alliance,[2] which aimed at upholding existing treaties.

[1] So called because the white fleur-de-lys flag of the Bourbons now everywhere replaced the tricolour of the republic and empire. These two flags represent the policy of the State in France. Thus the refusal of the Comte de Chambord to accept the tricolour showed his determination to reject constitutional principles even down to his death in 1883.

[2] See p. 151.

The discontent in Germany[1] and Italy[2] awakened a sympathetic echo in France, which showed itself in the retirement of the Duc de Richelieu and the accession of a more progressive minister, Decazes (November 1819). This check to the royalist reaction was soon swept away by an event of sinister import.

The Duc de Berry, second son of the Comte d'Artois, was assassinated (February 1820), as he was leaving the opera-house, by a fanatic who aimed at cutting off the direct Bourbon line[3] (February 1820). His design utterly failed, for a posthumous son, the celebrated Comte de Chambord, was born in September 1820; Decazes retired amidst an outburst of royalist fury. Liberty of the press was suspended, and a new complicated electoral system restricted the franchise to those who paid at least 1000 francs a year in direct taxation: the Chamber of Deputies, a fifth part of which was renewed every year by an electorate now representing only the wealthy, became every year more reactionary, while the Left[4] saw its numbers decline.

Conspiracies.—The ultra-royalist ministry of Villèle soon in its turn aroused secret conspiracies, for the death of Napoleon (May 5, 1821) was now awakening a feeling of regret for the comparative liberty enjoyed in France during the Empire. Military conspiracies were formed, only to be discovered and crushed, and the veteran republican Lafayette was thought to be concerned in a great attempt projected in the eastern departments with its headquarters at Belfort. Further, the terrible society of the

[1] See p. 175. [2] See p. 181. [3] See p. 143.

[4] In the French Chamber the side on the right of the president is occupied by the Conservatives, that on the left by the Liberals and Radicals, while on the connecting benches opposite the president sit the more moderate men of both parties, hence called Right Centre, and Left Centre.

Carbonari secretly spread its arms through the south of France, where it found soil as favourable as in Italy itself.

Protective System.—In the midst of her political unrest France entered on the path of financial "protection." The government of Louis XVI had encouraged trade with England, but the stern hand of Napoleon had confined the trade of France to her vassal and allied States on the continent. Though Louis XVIII had of course swept away the Berlin and Milan decrees, yet protective ideas had taken deep root in France; and the agriculturists now called out for import duties arranged on a sliding scale varying inversely with the price of French corn. A Corn Law was passed in England in 1815 in the interests of the landowners, who feared the sudden fall in the price of corn threatened by the peace. A similar measure was passed in France in 1814, but in 1819 it became the famous sliding scale, devised in the interests of landowners. Further protective duties were imposed in 1826 on iron, steel, silks, and even on sugar.

Intervention in Spain.—A revolution in Spain held Ferdinand a prisoner in his palace at Madrid. Louis determined to uphold the throne of his Bourbon relative, and sent an army which quickly effected its object (1823), thus dealing a serious blow to Spanish Liberalism.[1] "The Pyrenees no longer exist," exclaimed Louis XVIII. In fact, everywhere in Europe absolutism seemed to be triumphant, and the elections of December 1823 sent up a further reinforcement to the royalist party; also the approaching end of the sensible old king foreshadowed a period of still more violent reaction under his hot-headed brother Charles. Louis XVIII died on September 16, 1824. At his death the restoration seemed firmly established. Trade and commerce were prospering,

[1] See p. 185.

the Chambers were more royalist than the king, and the army seemed to have worked off its discontents in the Spanish campaign. France had quickly recovered from twenty years of warfare, and was thought to have the strongest government in Europe.

Charles X (1824-1830).—Always the chief of the reactionary nobles, Charles had said, "It is only Lafayette and I who have not changed since 1789."

Honest, sincere, and affable as the new king was, yet his popularity soon vanished when it was seen how entirely he was under the control of his confessor; and the ceremonies of his coronation at Rheims showed that he intended to revive the almost forgotten past. In Guizot's words, "Louis XVIII was a moderate of the old system and a liberal-minded inheritor of the eighteenth century: Charles X was a true *émigré*, and a submissive bigot."

Legislation.—Among the first bills which Charles proposed to the Chambers was one to indemnify those who had lost their lands in the Revolution. To give these lands back would have caused general unsettlement among thousands of small cultivators; but the former landowners received an indemnity of a milliard of francs, which they exclaimed against for its insufficiency just as loudly as the radicals did for its extravagance: by this tardy act of justice the State endeavoured to repair some of the unjust confiscations of the revolutionary era (April 1825).

Less justifiable were Charles' proposals to reinforce the old terrible penalties for sacrilege, and to renew the law of primogeniture in families paying 300 francs a year as land tax: the latter of these was rejected by the Chamber of Peers, as tending to re-establish a privileged class. The attempts made by the Jesuits to regain their legal status in France, in spite of the prohibition dating from before

the fall of the old *régime*, aroused further hostility to the king, who was well known to favour their cause. Nothing, however, so strengthened the growing opposition in the Chambers and in the country at large as a rigorous measure aimed at the newspapers, pamphlets, and books which combated the clerical reaction. These publications were to pay a stamp duty per page, while crushing fines were devised to ruin the offending critics. One of the leaders of the opposition, Casimir Périer, exclaimed against this measure as ruinous to trade: "Printing would be suppressed in France and transferred to Belgium." The king persevered in his mad enterprise: he refused to receive a petition from the most august literary society in Europe, the Académie Française, and cashiered its promoters as if they were clerks under his orders. Strange to say, the Chamber of Deputies passed the measure, while the Peers caused its withdrawal—an event greeted by illuminations all over Paris (April 1827). A few days afterwards, at a review of the National Guards in Paris, the troops raised cries for the liberty of the press and for the charter granted in 1815. The next day they were disbanded by royal command, but were foolishly allowed to retain their arms, which were soon to be used against the government. Charles next created seventy-six new peers to outvote his opponents in the Upper House. He also dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, but found the new members less pliable. Finally, Charles had to give way for the time, and accept a more moderate ministry under Martignac in place of the reactionary Villèle Cabinet. The new Cabinet gave effect to its views by joining England in the expedition sent to support the Greeks, whom the two great western nations had long desired to liberate.[1]

[1] See p. 191.

But neither progressists, reactionaries, nor Charles himself desired a policy of colourless moderation in home affairs, which has too often been taken for weakness by the logic-loving French. So Charles was soon able to dismiss this ministry, the last hope of conciliation, and formed (August 1829) a ministry under Count Polignac, one of whose colleagues was the General Bourmont who had deserted to the allies the day before Waterloo. The king's speech at the opening of the next session (March 1830) was curt and threatening, and the Chamber was soon prorogued. Reform banquets, a custom which the French borrowed from English reformers, increased the agitation, which the Polignac ministry vainly sought to divert by ambitious projects of invasion and partition of some neighbouring States.

Capture of Algiers.—The only practical outcome of these projects was the conquest of the pirate stronghold of Algiers. This powerful fortress had been bombarded and reduced by Lord Exmouth with the British fleet in 1816, and the captives, mostly Italians, were released from that den of slave-dealers; but the Dey of Algiers had resumed his old habits, complaints from the French were met by defiance, and at last the French envoy quitted the harbour amid a shower of bullets. A powerful expedition effected a landing near the strongly-fortified harbour, and easily beat back the native attack; and then from the land side soon battered down the defences of the city. Thus the city which had long been the terror of Mediterranean sailors became the nucleus of the important French colony of Algeria (July 4, 1830).

The Ordinances—The July Revolution.—The design of Charles X and of his reactionary Polignac ministry to divert the French people from domestic

grievances to foreign conquest needed the genius and strength of a Napoleon to ensure success. The mere fact of the expedition being under the command of the hated General Bourmont had made it unpopular; and as the French people had seen through the design, they gave less attention to the capture of Algiers than it really deserved. So although the victory was triumphantly announced throughout France, yet the elections sent up a majority hostile to the king.

Nevertheless, with his usual blind obstinacy, Charles on the 25th July 1830 issued the famous ordinances which brought matters to a crisis. The first suspended the liberty of the press, and placed books under a strict censorship; the second dissolved the newly-elected Chamber of Deputies; the third narrowed the franchise and the powers of the Chamber; the fourth restored to the Council of State nearly all the members who had previously lost their seats in it.

The Parisians at once flew to arms, and raised barricades in the many narrow streets which then favoured street-defence. Marmont, hated by the people as being the first of Napoleon's marshals who had treated with the allies, was to quell the disturbances with some 15,000 troops of the line; but on the second day's fighting (July 28) the insurgents, aided by the disbanded National Guards, and veterans of the empire, beat back the troops; and on the third day the royal troops, cut off from food and supplies, and exhausted by the heat, gave way before the tricolour flag; the defection of two line regiments left the Louvre unguarded; a panic spread among other regiments, and soon the tricolour floated above the Tuileries.

Charles thereupon set the undignified example, soon to

be followed by so many kings and princes, of giving way when it was too late. He offered to withdraw the hated ordinances, but was forced to flee from St. Cloud. He then tried the last expedient, also doomed to failure, of abdicating in favour of his little grandson the Duc de Bordeaux, since better known as the Comte de Chambord. Retiring slowly with his family to Cherbourg, the baffled monarch set out for a second and last exile, spent first at Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh, and ended at Göritz in Bohemia.

More than 5000 civilians and 700 soldiers were killed or wounded in these terrible "three days" of July 1830, which ended all attempts to re-establish the tyranny of the old *régime*. The victims were appropriately buried in the Place de la Bastille. They freed not France alone, but dealt a fierce blow at the system of Metternich. Like echoes of a thunderstorm in the mountains came reports of one revolution after another in central Europe before the end of 1830; for the political atmosphere of the continent was surcharged with electricity from causes which we must now describe.

CHAPTER XXIV.

GERMANY (1815-1830).

AUSTRIA.
Francis I. (1804-1835).

PRUSSIA.
Frederick William III (1797-1840).

BAVARIA.
Maximilian I. (1805-1825).

Louis I. (1825-1848).

AFTER twenty years of devastating wars, Germany needed repose to develop the new national life which had sprung up during the conflicts. Instead of peaceful development she found irksome restraints imposed by the Germanic Confederation formed at Vienna in 1815; for, helpless as the new Confederation was in its foreign relations, it soon proved itself powerful to restrain the aspirations of Germans for political liberty and unity.

An article of the Confederation, drawn up at the first Congress of Vienna in 1814, contained a recommendation that the people should have a voice "in questions of taxation, public expenditure, redress of public grievances, and general legislation," but in the second Congress at Vienna this was changed to the vague promise, "A representative constitution shall be adopted in the federative States"; and even this was not to be fulfilled without long and bitter struggles.

Prussia now numbered more Germans in her population than Austria, for the former grew up to and beyond the Rhine, while the latter power receded.

Prussia had emerged victorious from the great struggle; but she too had difficult work before her to consolidate her finances, her new military system, and to weld together her new districts, taken from the French Empire, Sweden, the duchy of Warsaw, Saxony, Westphalia, Berg, Danzig, Darmstadt, and Nassau. The rich and populous Rhine province, together with the Western States of Germany, retained for very many years most of the new laws introduced by Napoleon; but bitter disappointment was felt by the German patriots when the King of Prussia and the princes of North and Central Germany evaded their promises of constitutional governments. The one honourable exception was the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, who was for so long the large-hearted patron of the great German poet Goethe.

The opposite extreme was seen in the old Prince of Hesse, who, after spending eight years in banishment, now recalled to their quarters the troops sent on furlough after Jena; they reappeared soon in the old-fashioned powder and pigtails. True to his whimsical saying, "I have slept during the last seven years," he restored all the old abuses, and again appropriated the crown lands sold during Jerome's reign, when Hesse formed part of the kingdom of Westphalia.

In South Germany the traditions of alliance with France, and antipathy to Prussia and Austria, were strong enough to cause the potentates to grant constitutions somewhat like that granted by Louis XVIII. The French code of laws was continued, and two Chambers, one of peers, the other of deputies, were established in Bavaria, Baden, Würtemberg, and the small Thuringian States; but in every case the harsh game-laws, restrictions on the press, and the maintenance of old social wrongs, kept up a smouldering discontent.

Metternich.—The political history of Austria, from the peace which followed the disaster of Wagram up to the revolution of 1848, may be summed up in the career of Metternich. For thirty-three years after the fall of Napoleon this clever man controlled the destinies of the continent. Endowed with courtly tact, tenacity of purpose, and great fertility of resource, he yet lived to see his work shattered in 1848.[1] As Napoleon shrewdly said of him, "He mistook intrigue for statesmanship"; so his life-work of re-establishing absolutism in Central and Southern Europe was finally to be swept away in a few days, for it never had any firm foundation in facts. Yet his ascendency over his own master Francis, then over Frederick William of Prussia, and lastly over the impressionable Czar Alexander, gave him enormous weight in the councils of Europe for a third of a century. He proudly says in his memoirs, "I have made history, therefore I have not had time to write it." By his system of spies, by the terror which his vindictiveness inspired, and by cleverly diverting the principles of the Holy Alliance into a channel of repression, he made Vienna the centre of European politics between 1815 and 1848. His policy was soon furthered by the lamentable murder of the German poet Kotzebue.

Fête at the Wartburg—Murder of Kotzebue.—The students of the German universities were among the staunchest of the patriots who longed for German unity and liberty as heartily as they had striven for deliverance from Napoleon. Under the protection of the liberal Duke of Saxe-Weimar the Burschenschaft, or Students' Club of the University of Jena, met at the Wartburg (October 18, 1817) to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the great battle of Leipzig, and the tercentenary of Luther's efforts

[1] The German Liberals nicknamed him Mitternacht (midnight).

for religious freedom, so closely associated with that historic castle. Religious, patriotic, and reforming enthusiasm thus combined to make this Wartburg fête famous. The black, gold, and red colours of the ancient German Empire were worn by the students, and were combined on a German tricolour flag; books which favoured absolute rule were burnt. The students' union spread through Germany, and the government set spies to watch the students and professors.

A reactionary journalist and play-writer, Kotzebue, was known to be an agent of the Russian Government in Thuringia and South Germany; and so violent was the hatred against him that a divinity student named Sand, a youth of enthusiastic temperament, went to Kotzebue's house at Mannheim and stabbed him to the heart (March 23, 1819). "Now a constitution is impossible," was the exclamation of the Prussian prime minister, Hardenberg, who was not without constitutional sympathies. Metternich saw his opportunity, and found it easy to persuade the pliable Frederick William III that dangerous principles were growing up, and that his vague promise of a Constitution could not now be fulfilled. Blow after blow was dealt from Vienna and Berlin. Many patriot professors, among them Arndt at Bonn, were summarily dismissed, the Burschenschaft and the gymnastic societies suppressed, many students imprisoned, and all these measures were directed and enforced by a federal committee sitting at Mainz (Mayence) in order to repress the aspirations of the German people. Moreover, a Final Act of the Congress at Vienna declared that the German Confederation could not undergo any constitutional change without a unanimous vote of its States.

The Zollverein.—The only bright feature of this

troublous time is the formation of the Zollverein or Customs Union. The German States had resembled, as was said by a French writer, a menagerie, where the subjects watched each other through gratings. Each State had its own coinage and customs dues, so that goods sent by barge up to the upper part of the Rhine had to pay numerous dues.

The most enlightened of the German rulers, King Louis of Bavaria (1825-1848), who had already beautified Munich and made it a centre of art and literature, now sought to improve the material prosperity of his people by a commercial union with the neighbouring realm of Würtemberg. This sensible example was followed by Prussia and Hesse Darmstadt. In 1831-1833 all these States, along with Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Saxony, and later on Hanover, formed a customs union. Prussia thus gained a supremacy over Austria in German trade, which greatly benefited her and the smaller German States. Foreign goods were now to be once taxed on a uniform scale, and the duty (Zoll) was to be divided among the States of the union in proportion to their population. Heavy protective duties were now levied at the frontiers, but German trade expanded so much under its freer conditions that these duties soon produced double the amount which they first yielded. Thus the commercial union of Germany under the lead of Prussia (1831-1833) preceded the political union by about forty years.

Metternich's Interventions.—In German politics, however, Austria still had the upper hand. Not only did Metternich rule the Council of the German Confederation, but he laid down the principle that "no part of Europe should depart from the *status quo*, and that the divine right of princes must be defended against all attempts of innovators." Frederick William III had become, since

Kotzebue's murder, a docile follower of Metternich; but the generous enthusiasm of the Czar Alexander had long remained proof against his arguments, until that wily statesman was able to announce to him at Troppau the news of disaffection among the czar's Imperial Guards. The representatives of the great Powers were assembled at Troppau in Austrian Silesia, when Metternich with secret joy made known to the czar this, for him, most opportune event. "I see that you are right," said the disappointed czar to Metternich; "it is a malady of human nature which we must cure." The sensitive and volatile Alexander went over to the ranks of the despots, and nothing more was heard of the constitution promised for Poland. He further took part in the Congresses of Laybach (January 1821) and Verona (October 1822), which aimed at repressing the liberties of Germany, and the military movements in Italy and Spain, which must now claim our attention.

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CHAPTER XXV.

SOUTHERN EUROPE.

"Yet, Freedom, yet thy banner torn but flying,
Streams like a thunderstorm against the wind."

BYRON.

MONARCHS.

SPAIN.—Ferdinand VII (restored) 1814-1843.
NAPLES.—Ferdinand I. (King of the "Two Sicilies") 1814-1821.
SARDINIA.—Victor Emmanuel I. (restored) 1814-1821.
Charles Felix (1821-1831).

POPES.

Pius VII, 1800. Pius VIII, 1829.
Leo XII, 1823. Gregory XVI, 1831.
Pius IX, 1846.

Italy.—No part of the continent had undergone so many changes between 1797 and 1815 as the north of Italy. Delivered from Austrian rule, or from native potentates almost as unpopular, it had formed part of the Cisalpine Republic; then it had been merged into the kingdom of Italy, first under Napoleon, then under his popular step-son Eugène Beauharnais, while the western part went to swell the French Empire. In 1815 the former part fell mainly under Austrian rule, while the latter regained a nominal independence under the divided rule of the House of Savoy, the pope, and the Dukes of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena. The hopes of a constitution and even of

national independence which Lord William Bentinck had excited by his proclamation in 1814 were soon disappointed, for this nobleman, who had won passing popularity in Sicily as its protector and the founder of a free constitution, had exceeded his powers in proclaiming such a sweeping change. The vague promises of Italian independence by which the Austrians had sought to enlist Italian patriots to the overthrow of Beauharnais and Murat were still more illusory; for after Napoleon's abdication Austrian garrisons at once occupied the fortresses of Lombardy, and soon Austrian judges and professors came to displace natives in the law-courts and universities. By furthering the material interests of the peasantry of Lombardo-Venetia, the Viennese court hoped soon to overcome their hatred to foreign rule, and to the strict police and spy systems.

Kingdom of Sardinia.—Then, as now, the most prosperous part of Italy was the north. The small kingdom of Sardinia stretched from the Ticino westwards past the Maritime Alps, and from the southern shore of the Lake of Geneva to the town of Spezzia, which one day Cavour was to make the strongest naval station in Italy. This territory, together with the poor and backward island which gave its name to the monarchy, was in 1814 restored to Victor Emmanuel I., the son of its former king, Victor Amadeus. The Austrians had pressed hard on the small realm in return for their help in driving out the French; and now the restored House of Savoy added to the difficulties of its small kingdom by sweeping away all laws passed since 1800. Primogeniture, the privileges of the nobles, ecclesiastical tribunals, torture, and secret inquisitions, were all restored; so the reaction was here more violent than even in the neighbouring Austrian provinces. Well might the Genoese republicans resent and resist the

fusion of their ancient republic in the realm of such a despot.

Central Italy.—In the various duchies of Central Italy, and in the Papal States, the restored rulers also regarded the late years as a nightmare to be forgotten. The old governments were re-established. The pope, Pius VII, abolished secular rule in his own States, and even asked the Powers for the restitution of the ecclesiastical States and alienated Church lands in Germany—a demand which was quietly passed over. The Inquisition was restored in Italy as in Spain, and the long proscribed order of the Jesuits thronged into Spain and Germany as well as over all Italy. In this general recoil towards mediævalism the duchies of Tuscany and Parma, ruled respectively by Ferdinand III and by Napoleon's second wife Marie Louise, suffered the least oppression.

Naples.—It was in the kingdom of Naples, including Sicily and all of Italy south of the Papal States, that the violence of the reaction was to provoke the first outbreak. Ferdinand IV of Naples, on his restoration after the fall of Murat, called himself Ferdinand I, King of the "Two Sicilies"; the revival of this ancient name from a long vanished age showed what might be expected from the obstinate old monarch. He at once cancelled the free constitution granted to Sicily under the influence of the English general, Lord Bentinck, and restored the old absolute monarchy in the island as on the mainland. Murat's old troops were neglected, and disorder spread fast, until 30,000 brigands—that plague of South Italy—infested the country, and the helpless government had to pay black-mail to many of their chiefs.

The Carbonari.—Under this weak and exasperating government, the old secret society of the Carbonari again

sprang up and spread all over Italy, until some 60,000 members looked to Naples as their headquarters. This society of the Carbonari, or charcoal-burners, was one of the old trade associations, like the Freemasons, who also became[1] mixed up with political and even revolutionary attempts. The Carbonari now spread into Spain and the south of France. They aimed at political liberty and equality of the most advanced type, and often struck terror by their daring acts of revenge. At last, on the news of the successful revolt of the Spanish troops against the tyrannical Ferdinand VII of Spain, the Neapolitan troops also took up arms against their King Ferdinand, whom they compelled to take a most solemn oath that he would grant a constitution like the democratic Spanish constitution proclaimed in 1812.[2] So in October 1820 a "Junta" was elected, mainly of the old followers of Murat; but this Junta soon had its hands full, for the Sicilian democrats had also risen in revolt to claim a separate administration like that to which they had for some years been accustomed—a secession which the Neapolitans would not hear of. The mob at Palermo routed the troops sent by the Junta of Naples, and soon Sicily was in a state of anarchy which gave Metternich a good excuse for intervention.

The Neapolitan king was invited to the Congress of the Powers held at Laybach in January 1821, was readily persuaded to break his oath to the new constitution, and was conducted back again at the head of an Austrian army.

[1] On the continent, but not in England.

[2] This constitution remained for many years both in Spain and Italy the goal at which the people aimed. There was at this time much communication between Italy and Spain, both by the secret intercourse between the Carbonari of both lands, and by the official relations of the courts; for Ferdinand of Naples was next heir to the Spanish throne.

The Neapolitan popular forces, partly engaged in Sicily, could not withstand the onset of the 40,000 Austrians under Frimont. Pépé and many patriots escaped on a Spanish ship; while the perjured Ferdinand entered his capital in triumph (May 1821), withdrew the new constitution, enacted stringent laws against personal liberty, and in the next four years threw nearly 16,000 persons into prison for their supposed connection with the constitutionalists. The Austrians also subdued Sicily.

Charles Felix in Piedmont.—Meanwhile the people and soldiery in Piedmont had successfully imitated the military movements in Spain and Naples. The Genoese regiment stationed at Alessandria had given the sign of revolt (March 1821), and the people and troops followed their example with cries for the constitution and war with Austria. Victor Emmanuel I hastened to abdicate in favour of his brother Charles Felix; but the latter, not feeling himself safe, fled from Turin to Modena, to await the expected Austrian intervention, and handed over to his nephew, Charles Albert, the regency in his absence. This young man, a prince of the House of Savoy, was the hope of the reformers of North Italy; but the orders of Charles Felix led him, in spite of his sympathy with the constitutionalists, to resign the regency. The Austrians, aided by a few royalist Piedmontese, easily overcame the popular forces on the field of Novara (April 9, 1821). Charles Felix, supported at Turin by Austrian bayonets for a year, introduced absolute rule. Thus the revolt which had threatened the rear of the Austrian army in the south was easily quelled, and the authority of Metternich was again paramount throughout Italy. Piedmont, which had now for the first time raised the banner of Italian liberty and unity, was again at the feet of the Austrians;

and Charles Felix ruled his kingdom with a severity not far short of that of the Neapolitan despot. The Austrians punished the restlessness of the people of Milan by cruel imprisonments in the notorious dungeons of the Spielberg.

Congress of Verona—Canning.—Elated by his success in Italy, Metternich, at the Congress of the Powers held at Verona (October 1822), proposed to intervene in the affairs of Spain; but he met with an able and determined opponent in the English foreign secretary, Canning. During the previous seven years the British Government had confined itself to a few mild protests against Metternich's policy; but after the suicide of Castlereagh, his successor Canning determined to break up the European "concert" formed to repress liberty. So alarmed were the continental potentates at the "red spectre," that Metternich even convinced the czar that the Greek patriotic risings[1] against the Turks were the outcome of the Carbonari movements! The great question, however, discussed at Verona was the condition of Spain.

Spain.—The restoration of Ferdinand VII to his throne at Madrid in 1814 had soon led to events as shameful as those at Naples, Turin, and Cassel. The restored king, after taking the oath to the Liberal Spanish constitution of 1812, violated it on the first opportunity, arrested many patriots who had fought for his restoration, and, after Waterloo, handed over to a knot of favourites (*camarilla*) the small share of government which he did not reserve for himself. This oppressive rule made a reconciliation impossible with the Spanish American colonies, which had for six years been practically independent. Ferdinand was foolish enough to insist on the old yearly

[1] See pp. 188-190.

tribute of two millions sterling from them. With the greatest difficulty 17,000 soldiers were drawn together at Cadiz for a last effort to reduce the rebellious colonies. The effort was more fatal to the king than to the colonies; for the troops, whose pay was sixteen months in arrear, detesting the service in the tropics, broke into revolt, (January 1, 1820). This spread rapidly from Cadiz all through Spain, so that in March 1820 the terrified Ferdinand signed decrees for the liberty of the press, banishment of the Jesuits, suppression of the Inquisition, and restitution of the national constitution of 1812.[1] Ferdinand's supporters, who called themselves the Army of the Faith, were soon driven into France, where they were received with open arms by the clergy and royalists. Ferdinand, after many contemptible changes of front, remained almost a prisoner in his palace at Madrid.

French Intervention in Spain.—In such a troubled state of the Peninsula it was a triumph for Canning to prevent the united intervention of all the great Powers, and thus to break up the Quadruple Alliance. But though he thus dealt at Verona a heavy blow at the Holy Alliance and its manager Metternich, yet he could not prevent the intervention of Louis XVIII on behalf of his captive royal relative. To the delight of the French clergy and royalists, a French army under the Duc d'Angoulême crossed the frontier, and owing to the divisions among Spaniards reached Madrid almost unopposed (May 24, 1823). The Cortès removed to Seville, and finally to Cadiz, taking Ferdinand with it; but the French force soon overpowered the Spanish troops which defended the Trocadero peninsula commanding Cadiz (August 31, 1823), and the Cortès declared itself dissolved. The north-eastern province, Catalonia, always

[1] See p. 105.

foremost in defending its rights, was the last to succumb (November 1823).

Ferdinand VII, restored to power, this time by French arms, behaved as after his first restoration. The constitution was abolished, all the acts of the Cortès annulled, and despite the amnesty many Liberals were shot or imprisoned. The continental Powers then proposed to bring back the Spanish colonies to their allegiance, but here Canning intervened with effect, by causing the British Government to recognise the independence of the Spanish American mainland colonies. "I resolved," he afterwards said, "that if France had Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies. I called in the new world to redress the balance of the old."

Portugal.—After the death of the insane Queen Maria in 1816, her son, who had acted as regent, was proclaimed king, as John VI of Brazil and Portugal. Lord Beresford, who had commanded the Portuguese troops during the Peninsular War, had then nearly all power in Lisbon; but the rising discontent forced him to go to Brazil to arrange for the king's return thence to Portugal. Finally, King John VI was obliged to leave his ambitious son Don Pedro as his viceroy in Brazil, while on landing at Lisbon he himself swore to observe the new democratic constitution (October 1822), to which he also compelled the assent of his absolutist step-son, Don Miguel. The success of the reaction in Spain, however, favoured the absolutists, headed by the queen and Don Miguel; and the king, threatened by his overbearing son, applied to England for help against the absolutists. In pursuance of Canning's championship of nationalities, an English fleet was sent to protect the king, who finally died, leaving his country with no definite constitution, with a disputed succession, and with the loss of her vast colony of Brazil; for during these troubles Don

Pedro had been declared Emperor of Brazil. He now determined that his daughter should, when of age, marry Don Miguel, so as to avoid disputes; but the latter seized on power. Canning hereupon sent troops to defend the young queen's rights, and threatened war to the Powers which should interfere; but after his lamented death (August 1827) the influence of Wellington caused the withdrawal of the British force from Lisbon. Don Miguel seized the throne, and ruled for some time with a truly mediæval tyranny.[1]

[1] For continuation see p. 225.

CHAPTER XXVI.

TURKEY AND RUSSIA.

RUSSIA.	TURKEY.
Alexander I (1801-1825).	Mahmoud II (1808-1839).
Nicholas I (1825-1855).	

BETWEEN the years 1820 and 1827 all the struggles for liberty on the continent seemed to have hopelessly failed, except in one corner, on which the eyes of all thoughtful men were riveted.

The Turks, once the terror of south-eastern Europe, had not regained their old power even during the exhaustion of Austria and Russia in the Napoleonic wars. Driven back from the Crimea and the Dnieper (1783) in the reign of the powerful Czarina Catherine II, and as far back as the Dniester in 1792, the Turks were on the point of losing Moldavia and Wallachia to her successor Alexander, when the Russian troops had to retire to defend their land against Napoleon; and even then the Ottomans, by the Treaty of Bucharest (1812), lost all their land between the Dniester and the Pruth, and had to admit the local independence of Moldavia and Wallachia, now ruled by their own Hospodars. This decay of the once dreaded Turkish power, and the rising feeling of nationality all over Europe, aroused hopes in the long oppressed Greeks that they too might become a nation again; and the revolt of Ali Pacha, the

Turkish satrap of Epirus, seemed to favour their aspirations. This able but ferocious man, called the "lion of Epirus," or "the modern Pyrrhus," long withstood the power of the Porte,[1] until treachery at last ensnared this would-be ruler of Epirus and Greece (1822). Many other things had conspired to arouse the Greeks. Byron had in 1813 thrilled Europe by the spirited lines in "Childe Harold,"

> "Hereditary bondsmen! know ye not
> Who would be free themselves must strike the blow?"

And the Greek poet Koraes had breathed new life into his countrymen by setting vividly before them the glories of their ancient literature. Besides this, the Ionian Isles were now a refuge for all Greek patriots, and Greek seamen had profited by the neutrality of the Turkish flag during the blockade when the Berlin decrees were in force (1806-1814) to rapidly extend their commerce, and they were now the best sailors in the Mediterranean.

The first attempt of the Greek patriots[2] at Jassy in Moldavia was an utter failure. The Czar's dread of secret societies, and the jealousy shown by the Roumanian and Sclavonic peoples towards the Greek cause (which still complicates the Eastern Question), showed that Byron's words were literally true (April-June 1821).

A savage uprising of the Greek race in the place most fitted for it—the Morea—swept away all the Turks except those who took refuge in the strong places like Patras and Tripolitza (1821). The infuriated Turks retaliated by massacring the Greeks at Constantinople, together with their "Patriarch," the head of the Greek Church. Henceforth the whole struggle became a pitiless crusade between the two races

[1] The Porte is the entrance to the Turkish Council of State.

[2] They called their association *hetaeria*, or comradeship.

and the two religions. The capture and sack of Tripolitza by the Greeks was avenged by wholesale massacres in the peaceful and prosperous island of Chios by a Turkish force; but before this departed, laden with spoil, it was partly destroyed by Greek fire-ships skilfully sent in by Canaris.

Early in 1822 two Turkish armies were set free by the murder of the rebel Ali Pacha at Janina, but the one was stopped by the stout defence of Missolonghi at the northern entrance to the Gulf of Corinth, and the other, marching on the Morea, was foiled by that of Argos near the head of the Gulf of Nauplia. In despair, the Sultan Mahmoud called on his powerful vassal Mehemet Ali, Pacha of Egypt, to crush the Greeks. The latter, paralysed by discords, soon lost Navarino and Tripolitza (1825), and the whole of the Morea was given up to systematic massacre, so that it might be re-peopled by Moslems.

Missolonghi had defied all the attempts of the Turkish forces. Its swampy climate had caused the death of Lord Byron in 1824; but still its defenders held out, until in 1826 an Egyptian force reduced them to the direst straits. At last men, women, and even children, made by night a desperate attempt to cut their way through their besiegers rather than die of famine, or fall prisoners. Many forced their way through, while the rest, retreating into their town, prepared to blow up the powder magazine. When their foes were upon them, their bishop fired the train with a last prayer, "Lord, remember us" (April 22, 1826).

The capture of the Acropolis of Athens by the Moslems seemed the last blow to the hopes of the Greeks, but their heroism had moved the heart of all Europe.

Death of the Czar Alexander.—In Russia the whole people called for war in support of their co-religionists; but Alexander, still held in the toils of Metternich's diplomacy,

refused to act. Shutting himself off from his people, he fell a prey to deep melancholy at the vanity of his early hopes. He, the foremost among the conquerors of Napoleon, now saw himself reduced to impotence by Metternich's statecraft. He, the champion of Liberal principles in 1815, now found himself the dupe of the man who was repressing those aspirations everywhere. Sick at heart, the Czar succumbed to a mysterious disease at Taganrog (December 1, 1825), only four years after the death of his great rival Napoleon. Both had in turn seen the continent at their feet, and both died in middle life, disappointed, deserted, and powerless.

Navarino.—In the second year after Alexander's death the British and French Governments, fearing lest Russia, under the new Czar Nicholas, might alone reap the result of the Greek rising, resolved on a joint intervention with Russia. Fighting was to be stopped in the Morea, and Greece was to be made autonomous, but under the suzerainty of the Sultan, just as Roumania afterwards was. This last triumph of Canning's foreign policy was embodied in the Treaty of London just before his death (August 8, 1827); but an accident hastened the inevitable collision.

A demonstration was made by the allied fleets in the harbour of Navarino, to stop Ibrahim's devastation of the Morea. An English row-boat was fired on by the obstinate Turks; the action became general, and by evening the Moslems had lost all their fleet and 5000 sailors. Navarino freed Greece (October 20, 1827).

Wellington, however, referred to it in the royal speech as an "untoward event"; and it would have increased the power of Russia, if she was left to act alone, as the English Cabinet (that of Goderich) now foolishly allowed.

The French, however, sent 14,000 men under General

Maison. Finally the Egyptians were forced to sail away; and the complete independence of Greece was decided in March 1829 by England, France, and Russia, which again acted in concert for this end.

Greece.—The first Greek president was Capodistrias, long the adviser of the Czar; but his harsh rule was cut short by his assassination, and civil war was barely averted by the election, at the conference of London, of Prince Otho of Bavaria, as the first King of Greece. This also fixed the boundary of Greece along the line between the gulfs of Arta and Volo. The Greek districts of Thessaly were not added to the small kingdom till 1881, in accordance with the Treaty of Berlin. The progress of Greece, retarded by internal dissensions and habits of brigandage, has disappointed the extravagant expectations of idealists who fixed their gaze on the times of Pericles; but its commerce and prosperity have made steady progress.

Russo-Turkish War, 1828-1829.—The Greek cause had also been furthered by a declaration of war against Turkey by the powerful Czar Nicholas, who feared a general military rising if he did not lead his army against the Moslems. The resolute but ill-starred Sultan Mahmoud, whose reign (1808-1839) was one long succession of disasters, was at that time almost helpless after the destruction of his privileged guards, the Janissaries. This tyrannical corps resisted his reforms and defied his authority. These lawless Praetorians, as they rushed to attack his palace, were cut down by artillery, and then bombarded in their barracks; everywhere throughout the empire they were cut down, and the young recruits were being drilled with European weapons, when the Czar declared war. Men said after Navarino: "The Sultan had destroyed his own army, and now his allies destroyed his navy."

Still the Turks surprised the world by their stout resistance to foes of double their strength on land, and who had complete command of the sea. In the first campaign (1828) the Russians, long stopped by the defence of Ibrail (or Brailow) on the lower Danube, were baffled by that of Shumla, and took Varna only through the treachery of a Turkish pacha; but in Asia the genius of Paskievitch gained Kars and Erzeroum. In 1829 the Russian general Diebitsch made a sudden dash at the Balkan passes with 30,000 light troops, and met the Russian fleet in the Bay of Bourgas. Then, with forces diminished by the plague, the daring general struck inland towards Adrianople. By the capture of this, the second city of Turkey in Europe, and by skilfully concealing the weakness of his force, Diebitsch so terrified the Porte that the Sultan signed the Treaty of Adrianople (September 14, 1829).

Turkish Losses.—By this the Sultan definitely acknowledged the independence of Greece, and ceded to Russia the territory as far south as the middle, or Sulina, mouth of the Danube, and part of the province of Kars on the Asiatic frontier. Moldavia and Wallachia owned henceforth only a nominal sovereignty to the Porte, with an annual subsidy.

Diebitsch then retired from Adrianople with a force reduced by disease to 13,000 men. Such were the results won by the daring and adroitness of one man against supine and ill-informed foes. Indeed, only the threatened intervention of the Western Powers saved Turkey from severer losses.

The internal reforms of the brave and intelligent Sultan Mahmoud seemed to bring nothing but disaster; and in three years his fortitude was tried by the successful revolt of his powerful vassal Mehemet Ali of Egypt. The Sultan,

in despair, turned to Russia for help, and signed the humiliating Treaty of Unkiar Iskelessi (1833) with the Czar Nicholas. Turkey seemed helpless under the heel of Russia; but events were to prove that her vitality, if torpid, was tougher than that of many highly organised States. Meanwhile she became for seven years little more than an annexe of Russia; for she now undertook to exclude from the Dardanelles all foreign war-vessels whenever Russia should be at war.

The Czar Nicholas.—This diplomatic victory gave to the Czar Nicholas an influence in Europe, which was enhanced by his masterful personality. The force of his will had appeared at the time of his accession (December 1825). In the absence of an heir to Alexander I, every one expected that Constantine, the elder of the surviving sons of Paul I, would reign. But, owing to a morganatic marriage, he had secretly renounced his rights. As no one, not even Nicholas, knew of this, great confusion ensued, amidst which some ardent reformers and malcontent nobles at St. Petersburg sought to rouse the soldiery and populace by the cry, "Long live Constantine, long live the Constitution." A few regiments joined them; others wavered, the rank and file believing, so it is said, that "Constitution" was the wife of Constantine. Nicholas himself saved the situation. Standing forth at the Winter Palace, he read the behests of Alexander I; then, as the rebels still held another square, he went thither, boldly faced them, and, on their refusal to disperse, bade his faithful Guards shoot them down. Five of the "Decembrists," as they were called, suffered death. To others he showed clemency, but thereafter forbade the least approach to Liberalism. His colossal figure, tightly laced in uniform, typified the character of his rule—a military despotism.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE MOVEMENTS OF 1830 IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

"Revolts, republics, revolutions, most
No graver than a schoolboys' barring-out."
TENNYSON.

Belgian Independence.—The earliest result of the French Revolution of July 1830 was seen in the Belgian provinces of the Netherlands. Except during Napoleon's rule the Belgian provinces had been under a different rule from that of Holland ever since 1579. Holland had been a republic; the Belgians had been under Spanish, and then under Austrian rule, and their sympathies were French. Moreover, they outnumbered the Dutch by more than one-third. Thus the greatest care was needed to weld the artificial creation of 1815, these United Netherlands, into a really united country. But the Dutch king, William I., contrived to annoy all classes of Belgians. He discouraged the use of the French language, and sought to extend the use of the Dutch tongue. He irritated the Catholics by placing education under the care of the State, and alienated their Liberal opponents also by limiting the freedom of the press, and by imposing Dutch laws and officials; also, the Belgians were to contribute towards the interest on the heavy Dutch debt by taxes on food.

At last the news of the July Revolution in Paris brought

matters to a crisis on August 25, 1830. The people of Brussels, excited by an opera in which the revolt of the Neapolitans under the fisherman Masaniello is represented, assailed the palace of the hated Dutch minister van Maanen, and threw up barricades. They demanded a separation of government between the Dutch and Belgian provinces, with a personal union under the same crown, as in the case of Sweden and Norway. But the pride of the Dutch king and people, and their belief that the great Powers would not allow a State formed by them to be thus sundered, brought matters to arms. Prince Frederick forced his way into Brussels, only to be driven out again after five days' house-to-house fighting by the citizens (Sept. 23-27, 1830), who now proclaimed the complete independence of Belgium. In a short time only Maestricht, Luxemburg, and the citadel of Antwerp remained to the Dutch troops. Meanwhile a conference of the great Powers at London, to whom King William had applied, imposed a truce, and in January 1831 began to draw up a plan of separation. Indeed, everything favoured the Belgians; for Russia was too much occupied with the Poles, and Austria with the Italians, to intervene in the West. Palmerston, the Foreign Minister after October 1831, followed in the steps of Canning, as a champion of small nationalities; and Louis Philippe, placed on the throne by a revolution, declared that he would resist any intervention by Prussia. He was also prudent enough to decline for his son the honour of the Belgian throne to which he had been elected, because it would alienate the sympathy of England. Finally, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, related by his first marriage to our royal house, and soon about to marry a daughter of the French king, was elected King of the Belgians (June 27, 1831). The London Conference fixed the boundary as it

now stands; and King William retained the distant duchy of Luxemburg, which he had received in return for the loss of his family lands in Germany. This duchy, however, still formed part of the German Confederation; but the western part of Luxemburg, which had fallen away from all connection with Germany, went to the new Belgian State.

Meanwhile the Dutch king, enraged at the decision of the Powers, determined to recover Belgium in spite of them. At the head of a large Dutch army he routed the Belgian forces under Leopold near Louvain. To enforce their decision England and France sent, the former a fleet to blockade the Scheldt, the latter an army of 50,000 men to drive back the Dutch. Antwerp citadel was bombarded by the French, and the Dutch garrison forced to surrender (December 23, 1832). After long and wearisome negotiations the Dutch king at last recognised the independence of Belgium (1839).

[In spite of their long and bitter strife these two little countries soon regained their prosperity through the industrial and commercial enterprise of their peoples. In 1841 the Dutch king, William I, voluntarily abdicated in favour of his son, William II. See pp. 453, 455.]

The Movements in Germany (1830).—Just as the revolution had spread from Paris to Brussels, so thence it set Germany in a flame which was fiercest in Brunswick, Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse. The Duke of Brunswick had so enraged his people that, on hearing the news from Paris, they stormed his palace and drove him forth as a fugitive. His brother, who took his place, soon pacified his subjects by granting a new constitution.

At the same time the people of Leipzig rose against their government, and the town-hall of Dresden was sacked by a mob indignant at the municipal corruption. There

upon the King of Saxony named his nephew Frederick, who was much beloved by the people, as co-regent, and reformed the constitution.

In Hesse-Cassel the obstinate old ruler had to grant reforms. In Hanover the citizens were pacified through the mediation of the king's brother, the Duke of Cambridge. The revolutionary spirit seemed to have lost its force as it proceeded east, and in Poland it met with a crushing defeat.

Poland.—In 1815 this unhappy land had seemed to be at the end of its troubles; for the sovereigns, who had again absorbed all but the tiny republic of Cracow, promised to accord a "constitution useful and suitable" to the portions under their sway. The Czar Alexander, who held the lion's share, proclaimed himself King of Poland and opened the session of two Chambers returned by the propertied classes; but his brother Constantine, who was left as his representative at Warsaw, soon gave free play to his brutal and despotic feelings towards the Poles. After Alexander's conversion to absolutism in 1820 the Polish constitution was a mere laughing-stock to the Russian officials at Warsaw. Though Constantine's morganatic marriage incapacitated him from succeeding Alexander, yet he was thought good enough to govern the Poles, whom he drove into a state of exasperation.

The exciting news from Paris and Brussels was therefore sufficient to cause an explosion at Warsaw. On the night of November 29, 1830, Constantine had to flee from his palace, and beat a retreat from Poland with all the Russian troops. In eight days Poland was free from the Russians.

Two evils have always weakened Poland—the entire want of natural defences, and still more the intestine feuds which wrecked its old constitution.[1] These sources

[1] In the old General Assembly of Polish nobles the *liberum veto*, or the

of weakness again paralysed the Polish defence. One hundred thousand Russians under the famous General Diebitsch soon overran Poland, overpowering the Poles at Grochow (February 1831) and at Ostrolenska (May 1831). Meanwhile, in the out-lying Polish districts of Lithuania in the north and Volhynia in the south, the revolts had failed through real or suspected treachery on the part of incompetent leaders.

None of the great Powers sent any help in answer to entreaties from Warsaw. Prussia gained Russian favour by provisioning the Russian forces from her territory. Louis Philippe, anxious to win the regard of the great eastern Power, only offered his mediation; and the British Whig ministry, involved in the struggle for reform, could only send energetic protests through its foreign secretary, Lord Palmerston.

In Warsaw the jealousy of the democrats for the Polish nobles was leading to fearful scenes. Maddened by the news that the Russians were marching on their capital, the mob overthrew the government, broke open the prisons, and hanged all those who were suspected of being favourable to the Russians (August 1831). Thus when, in September, Paskiewitch, the hero of the Asiatic campaign of 1827, appeared before the distracted city, division and distrust paralysed the defence; and at last the Polish army evacuated the capital.[1] Two Polish corps crossed over

right of one voice to veto any measure, brought the State to an utter deadlock. This love of dissidence became almost an hereditary defect in the Polish character.

[1] Diebitsch had died of the cholera, which was decimating the Russian armies. This fearful plague was spreading from Asia, through Russia, to Germany and all Western Europe. The ignorant peasants of Russia and Hungary massacred the doctors who tried to cure them. Few years have been so terrible for Europe as 1830-1832.

the Prussian and Austrian frontiers, and Poland sank to the level of a Russian province.

"Order reigns at Warsaw:" thus the French minister, Sebastiani, with unconscious irony described the sequel to its surrender. Exile to Siberia, or to the newly-won province of the Caucasus, crushed the spirit of the Poles; and Paskiewitch, created Duke of Warsaw, governed Poland as a conquered province. But all these events aroused in England and France a hatred of the Czar Nicholas, which was to burst forth in 1855.

Switzerland.—The revolutionary excitement of 1830 aroused fierce strife in Switzerland—a land which we now consider so peaceable, but which was (down to 1848) in constant commotion. The small towns and villages in 1830 and 1831 rose against the somewhat oppressive rule of the head towns, and new cantonal institutions were everywhere founded on a wider democratic basis, except in Neufchâtel, where the Prussian party, and in Basle, where the old oligarchy, successfully resisted; yet the government of Basle had to allow the country districts of that canton to form a more democratic cantonal division.

The strife was embittered by religious disputes. The Jesuits had settled in several of the cantons, had founded convents, and soon they tried to gain control of education. On the other hand, the Liberal cantons wished to place education under government control, and to make marriage a civil contract. The strife lasted many years, and the "forest" cantons, joined by Basle and Neufchâtel, formed a Catholic League called the "Sarnerbund." In 1843 the canton of Aargau disestablished the convents in spite of the fierce opposition of its Ultramontane subjects, aided by volunteers of Catholic cantons. On their side the Jesuits strove to get the upper hand in Schwyz and Lucerne.

Troops of volunteers from Liberal cantons, especially Berne and Zürich, attacked the Ultramontanes of Lucerne, who then with six other Catholic cantons formed a powerful league called the Sonderbund, which was supported by Metternich and (strange to say) by the Protestant French minister Guizot. In fact, the latter would have actively intervened in its favour but for the diplomatic opposition of Lord Palmerston, who secretly counselled the Swiss Federal Government to "strike quick and strike hard" at this armed league. So it gathered a large force which at once overpowered the troops of the league, and occupied Lucerne (November 1847). The Sonderbund was suppressed, and the danger of civil war passed away. (Continued on p. 247.)

Italy.—Metternich's desire to intervene in Switzerland was due to his determination to prevent the success of any democratic movement on the frontiers of Italy, which he regarded as his special preserve. His championship of absolutism in Central and Southern Europe had, up to 1830, everywhere succeeded except in Belgium and Greece; for the risings of 1820-1825 in Southern Europe were mainly military risings, and no able patriots had then come forward who could touch the hearts of the people. Soon, however, two such champions were to appear—Mazzini in Italy and Kossuth in Hungary.

In 1830 it was the centre of Italy which rose in revolt, for the north and the south then had prospects of better government. The death of Francis I. of Naples, whose rule (1825-1830) had been as harsh as that of his detested predecessor Ferdinand, now brought to the throne of South Italy the young Ferdinand II, who for some time bade fair to head the Liberals of Italy. Similar hopes were excited in the north by the accession to the throne of Sardinia of Charles Albert in 1831, in place of

the despotic Charles Felix, for Charles Albert had in 1821 shown some desire to shield the patriots of the north. The sequel was to show that Metternich knew how to bring back the young rulers to the absolutist policy of their dynasties; but, for the present, it was the misrule in the Papal States which provoked an outbreak in Central Italy.

The Papal States.—These comprised not only the river basin of the Tiber, but also the districts known as the "Legations," between the Apennines and the Adriatic, as far north as Ferrara on the Po. Two popes had now succeeded the Pius VII whose persecution by Napoleon had won him so much sympathy; and since 1823 an era of strict repression had caused numerous outbreaks. So when Gregory XVI, well known for his reactionary views, was elected to the Papal See, the people of Bologna at once drove out the pope's legate, and the Papal Government was at once renounced by Ancona and almost every town in the States except Rome itself. The Duke of Modena and the Duchess of Parma, Marie Louise (Napoleon's widow), also had to flee from their respective capitals, and the growth of a national feeling was seen in the assembly of a Parliament at Bologna, which issued a provisional constitution for the "united Italian provinces." These potentates were soon restored by Austrian troops, who then marched towards Ancona to restore the papal authority. They overthrew the Italian patriots at Rimini, close by the stream once called the Rubicon;[1] but the representatives of the five great Powers demanded of the pope in a memorandum that he should reform his government by

[1] A strange inversion of ancient history that at this classic stream the descendants of the Germani and Norici should have helped the *Roman* Government to reduce its rebellious Italian subjects to obedience.

admitting laymen to public offices. The pope, sure of Austrian aid, refused; and when the insurrection again burst forth, the Austrians were only stopped from occupying Ancona by a dramatic stroke of the French Government. The French minister, Casimir Périer, took the first vigorous step of the reign of Louis Philippe by sending an expedition to occupy Ancona almost in the face of the Austrians and in spite of the pope's protest (February 1832). Yet this occupation, though it lasted till 1838, did not prevent the return of absolutism to the Papal States and North Italy.

Mazzini.—It was against this reaction that Mazzini started the newspaper and the movement of "Young Italy" at Marseilles in 1831. The son of a professor of medicine in the University of Genoa, he soon outgrew the French doctrines of the rights of man, and became still more alienated from the method employed by the Carbonari. The young idealist believed in, and worked for, the unity of Italy as a religious duty, and as promoting the ideal for which each nation existed. This teaching of the duties of man as well as the rights of man gained him the lifelong devotion of noble-minded Italians; but he, like many other idealists, was less fortunate in his choice of the means to be adopted. Mazzini had attempted to assist the people of Bologna, but Louis Philippe's half-promised aid was not forthcoming, and the young advocate went to Corsica, which was still Italian in feeling. On the accession of Charles Albert, Mazzini urged the young ruler to put himself at the head of a war of Italian independence. "Rest assured that posterity will either hail your name as the greatest of men or as the last of Italian tyrants." But the events at Bologna had alarmed Charles Albert, and the prisons of Piedmont were soon full of Italian patriots. Throughout Mazzini was a republican, with a passionate belief in the

mission of Rome, as the Italian capital, to elevate the character of his countrymen.

In spite of his lofty ideals, Mazzini did not scruple to mix himself up with a design for the assassination of Charles Albert. Then, taking refuge in Switzerland, he, with about a thousand other Italian and Polish exiles, attempted an invasion of Savoy, which proved a complete failure. Mazzini fell down in a fit just before a skirmish, in which his followers were scattered (1834). For several years he lived in exile at London, and this attempt only drove Charles Albert to a policy of repression which only began to cease in 1843.

Thus all the movements of 1830 led to no direct success except in France and Belgium, and in most cases to worse oppression than before. They were of too isolated a character to effect their object, and no champion had hitherto arisen to command widespread sympathy.

A few noble souls, among them Mazzini, did not despair. As prophet of the Italian movement for freedom and national unity, he set himself once more to arouse in his countrymen a self-sacrificing devotion which would one day shatter all the governmental machinery of Austria, Piedmont, the Papacy, and Naples. Soon his propaganda began to rekindle in the youth of Italy a noble indignation against their foreign and domestic tyrants. The results were to be seen in that "year of revolutions"—1848.[1]

[1] See *Life of Mazzini*, by Mr. Bolton King, M.A.; also *Life and Writings of Joseph Mazzini*, 6 vols. (1891); *Mazzini's Essays* (W. Scott, 1887).

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FRANCE—LOUIS PHILIPPE (1830-1848).

THERE is a superficial resemblance between the Bourbon restoration of 1815 and the Stuart restoration in 1660. In both cases, after the kings Louis XVI and our Charles I. had been beheaded, military dictatorships followed; then, after the tolerant monarchs of the direct royal lines had been restored and had reigned in comparative quiet, their bigoted younger brothers, Charles X and James II, brought about the fall of the direct Bourbon and Stuart dynasties, and were succeeded by constitutional sovereigns elected from the younger branches of their families.[1]

In fact, Guizot, the Protestant statesman who supported Louis Philippe for so many years, afterwards wrote: "In 1830 our minds were full of the English revolution of 1688, of its success, of the noble and free government it had founded, and of the glorious prosperity it had purchased for the nation. . . . For our revolution of 1830 we had neither the same profound causes nor the same varied supports."

On the 31st July 1830, only two days after the victory of the citizens over the troops, the Chamber of Deputies invited the Duc d'Orléans to be Lieutenant-General of the realm. He rode on horseback through the barricaded

[1] See Genealogical Tree, p. 217.

streets to the Hôtel de Ville as a mark of courtesy to the National Guards and their commander the aged Lafayette, who now at last, after a lapse of thirty-eight years, saw his ideal of constitutional monarchy about to be realised. As the duke passed the barricades there was no enthusiasm shown, except towards the deputies who accompanied him; but on August 9 he accepted the crown offered to him by 219 out of the small number of 250 deputies then present in the Chamber.

His had been a strange career. Son of the Philippe Égalité whose schemes only brought him to the guillotine, the young republican had figured as a doorkeeper at the Jacobins' Club, had fought with great bravery at Valmy and Jemappes, then fled with Dumouriez to the Austrians in 1793, and for a long time taught mathematics in a small Swiss town. After his return to France in 1814 he had, in the Chamber of Peers, steadfastly opposed every reactionary tendency on the part of his royal relatives. Now that he was elected king he maintained an almost republican simplicity in his manners, and his rule was said by his supporters to be "the best of republics." His character had been hardened by nearly a quarter of a century of exile, and now, at fifty-seven years of age, inspired none of the enthusiasm which he had called forth at Jemappes. Yet his firmness and sagacity secured to France a continuous government for eighteen years in spite of the three parties, Republicans, Bonapartists, and Legitimists. These last were those who supported the Duc de Bordeaux, grandson of the exiled Charles X, who just before his departure had named the boy as his successor under the regency of Louis Philippe.

The new Charter and Electoral Law.—The Chamber of Deputies had already swept away the fatal ordinances

of Charles X, and had remodelled the charter of Louis XVIII, so as now to ensure the equality before the law of all forms of religion, and the extension of trial by jury to political charges. Departmental and municipal bodies were also formed on an electoral basis.

After the popular triumph in July the people hoped that the franchise would be extended to at least the majority of adult citizens, and great irritation was aroused when the franchise was merely extended from those who paid 300 francs in direct annual taxation to those who paid 200 francs. This only raised the total number of electors to 184,000 out of a total population of over 30,000,000 persons. The power which every government has always had in France and in Southern Europe to control the elections was seen also in the return of 216 government officials as deputies in the new Chamber, of which they formed rather more than half. Hence arose a system of jobbery which finally disgraced the whole of public life under Louis Philippe.

Discontent in France.—With the growth of commerce and manufactures, the artisan class grew more powerful: easily excited in times of want, this class was then in a continual ferment, for it looked upon Louis Philippe as foisted on France by a trick of the Chambers. It had won the street fights of July, yet now saw all power kept in the hands of the rich *bourgeoisie* which had placed Louis Philippe on the throne. Moreover, the king's unpopularity increased when he asked for an annual civil list of 18,000,000 francs, though at his accession he had said, "6,000,000 are more than enough for a citizen king." The Chamber finally voted 12,000,000 francs a year; and the country saw avarice take firmer hold on the king with every increase of his wealth.

So unpopular were Louis Philippe's two first ministries that he soon found means to dismiss the more advanced constitutionalists. The next ministry, which entered office in March 1831 under Casimir Périer, was still more resolute in repressing tumults. The premier was a man of commanding talents and firmness. He declared that while France would not herself interfere in the affairs of other nations, neither would she allow others to do so; but the French artisans, barely satisfied by intervention in Belgium and Italy, were exasperated by the king's refusal to intervene in favour of Poland, and the arrival of hundreds of Polish exiles at Paris in the end of 1831 again roused their anger.

At Lyons the silk trade was hard pressed by the competition of other countries which since 1815 had entered into commercial rivalry with France. Disputes arose between the Lyons manufacturers and the silk weavers, who at that time worked in their own homes, not in workshops. Finally the artisans took up arms in November 1831, and after two days' fighting drove the troops out of their town; but a large force under Marshal Soult soon overawed them. There were disturbances also at Marseilles, Toulon, and Toulouse. The cholera in the next year created a terrible panic; and, as in Hungary and Russia, the peasants, believing the wells to have been poisoned, often murdered the physicians themselves. The most illustrious victim was the premier, Casimir Périer, whose firm hand was never more needed (May 1832).

Amid these troubles the legitimists and republicans sought to overthrow the government. The Duchesse de Berri, widow of the son of Charles X, attempted to raise La Vendée, where a strong attachment to the old monarchy still existed; but this sentiment was not strong enough to excite a revolt. The duchess was captured, and soon liberated.

More serious were the street fights with the Paris republicans in June 1832. Barricades were thrown up after the funeral of a popular deputy, and were with difficulty carried by the troops. At Lyons too, which had become more and more republican, the workmen, in April 1834, fought against the troops more desperately than even in 1831. Before they could be crushed the Paris republicans again rose, irritated by new decrees against political clubs and conspirators. Cavaignac escaped to England, but other leaders were imprisoned after trials which shook the credit of the government.

The Doctrinaires.—After the death of Casimir Périer a ministry was formed, with Marshal Soult as president of the council, or "premier," in English phrase. His colleagues were Thiers, the vivacious genius who was to sound forth the glories of the first Empire, and thus unconsciously help the imperialists again to power; the Duc de Broglie, who from the first to the second Empire was a firm exponent of moderate Liberal principles; and the historian Guizot, a devoted student and admirer of the English constitution. The last two were the leaders of the doctrinaires, a group of politicians who strove to conduct politics in a philosophic spirit. "It was our endeavour" (wrote Guizot) "to bestow sound philosophy on politics." The difference between their principles and their conduct often exposed them to ridicule; but in truth Louis Philippe's ministers had a difficult task to cope with the malcontents at home and to avoid a rupture with the Austrian, Prussian, and Russian sovereigns, who viewed the July revolution and its results with alarm and dislike. So Louis Philippe's constant desire was to keep a good understanding with England.

Infernal Machine—Repressive Laws.—The waning popularity of Louis Philippe was revived by a mad attempt

on his life. During the previous nine months no less than seven such plots had been discovered; yet a Corsican named Fieschi arranged an infernal machine to fire from a window on the king as he rode to the review of the National Guards on July 28, 1835, the anniversary of the revolution of 1830. A shower of bullets struck down many spectators and soldiers, among the latter Mortier, one of Napoleon's old marshals. But amid all the slaughter the king himself escaped unscathed, and, with the courage which he had shown at Jemappes, proceeded to the review. Fieschi and two other miscreants were executed.

The consequences fell upon the republican opposition. In September laws were passed forbidding all discussion on the form of government, facilitating the trial of political crimes by secret voting of juries, and decreeing that newspaper criticisms on the king's acts were treasonable.

None the less there were five more unsuccessful attempts on the king's life, and one on that of his son, the Duc d'Aumale, between 1835 and 1842; and in 1839 the Paris republicans again threw up barricades, under the lead of Blanqui, the disturber of so many governments down to our own day.

Thiers and Guizot.—French ministries were made and unmade almost as quickly in the middle of Louis Philippe's reign as they have been since 1871. In 1836 the coalition of Thiers and Guizot broke up after popular disturbances seemed for the time to be crushed. Thiers formed a more progressist ministry, but fell from power owing to a proposal to intervene in Spain, which the prudent king opposed. The king then confided the guidance of affairs to a doctrinaire ministry under Molé, who admitted the royal intervention in parliamentary affairs more than had been allowed by Thiers or even by Guizot, though the

latter was always favourable to the exercise of the royal prerogative. These two statesmen again united to overthrow Molé, and after a period of shortlived ministries Thiers finally resigned because the king would not support his menacing tone on the Egyptian question in 1840. Guizot then was called to the throne of State, and remained there till the crash of 1848.

Louis Napoleon.—In 1833 Louis Philippe had replaced the statue of the Emperor Napoleon on the Vendôme column (that oft-changing barometer of French political feeling), and in 1836 he had completed the great Arc de Triomphe. In 1840, during the shortlived ministry of Thiers, Louis Philippe had also agreed that the bones of the emperor should be brought from St. Helena to rest "among the French people whom he so much loved." His remains were brought to Cherbourg and thence to Paris with imposing pomp, to rest under the dome of the Invalides, or Hospital for Old Soldiers (December 1840).

Four years previously the emperor's nephew, Louis Napoleon, son of Louis, ex-King of Holland, and Hortense Beauharnais, had crossed over from Switzerland to Strassburg. Dressed in imitation of "le petit caporal," he there attempted to gain over the troops, but was speedily arrested. Taken by a French war-ship to America, he soon returned to Constance; but on the threats of Louis Philippe to the Swiss cantons he retired to London. In 1840 he declared that the bones of the emperor ought to rest only in an imperial and "regenerated" France, and attired in the uniform of Napoleon's Guards he and some friends disembarked at Boulogne from a steamer which they had secretly chartered in the Thames. The sequel did not resemble the triumphant procession of his uncle to Paris after his escape from Elba. At Boulogne in 1840 the French

troops remained true to the government. The boat in which Louis Napoleon sought to escape to the steamer capsized, and he was dragged out of the water half-drowned. This time he was condemned by the Chamber of Peers at Paris to imprisonment for life; but in 1846 he escaped from the castle at Ham in the disguise of a workman during some alterations.

These events seemed fatal to his cause with a people so keenly alive to a sense of the ridiculous as the French, but "in France it is the unexpected which happens." In six years after his escape he was Emperor of the French.

The Egyptian Question.—Louis Philippe was in a dilemma as to foreign affairs all through his reign. Either he must please his own people by supporting the popular movements which began in 1830, or conciliate the continental Powers by showing that he was not another Napoleon carried into power on the crest of a revolution. He wavered between these two policies, and only intervened in Belgium and Portugal when he had the support of England. Yet the traditions of the Empire often made the French yearn for a more spirited policy against Germany, Austria, and even against England.

In 1840 this feeling was strong enough in France to urge Thiers to run the risk of war with England in support of Mehemet Ali, Pacha of Egypt. This question, which was one of secondary importance for the two western Powers, was brought into the front rank by the eager rivalry of Thiers and Palmerston.

Mehemet Ali, the able soldier and administrator of Egypt, had defied the Sultan's authority and defeated his troops in every pitched battle, while a treacherous Turkish admiral had taken over a Turkish fleet to what seemed the winning side (1839). The French believed that they saw in

Mehemet Ali the regenerator of the Turkish power; for the same reason Russia (always hostile to France) detested him as a dangerous rebel against authority; while England, Prussia, and Austria dreaded his power to weaken Turkey by civil war.

Suddenly Palmerston disclosed the terms of a secret treaty with Austria, Russia, and Prussia which was to isolate France, and reserve only Egypt and Southern Syria to the victorious pacha. In spite of the menaces of Thiers, Palmerston sent a powerful fleet, which, joined by Austrian and Turkish war-ships, laid Acre in ruins, and forced Mehemet to withdraw from his Syrian conquests by a threat to bombard Alexandria (November 1840). Louis Philippe did not support Thiers in his desire for armed intervention; and after his fall from office, France finally joined the other Powers in a treaty called the "treaty of the straits." By this Egypt was again brought under the suzerainty of the Sultan, but the hereditary right of Mehemet Ali and his heirs to the Pachalic of Egypt was recognised. Turkey also escaped from the humiliating terms of the treaty of Unkiar Iskelessi of 1833,[1] which had placed her at the foot of Russia. The Sultan now refused to admit any ships of war through the narrow waters of the Bosporus (July 1841). Russian interests thus sustained a worse check than that suffered by French diplomacy. The latter was soon forgotten after Palmerston and Thiers had fallen from power; and the old friendship was renewed when Queen Victoria visited Louis Philippe at the Orleanist domain, the Château d'Eu, near Dieppe (1843). The sudden death of the king's eldest son after a carriage accident in Paris also concentrated French attention on home affairs and on the prospects of the Orleanist dynasty, which were thus overclouded.

[1] See p. 194.

Tahiti.—A quarrel soon arose, however, about Tahiti. The French, outstripped in the race to annex New Zealand, had taken advantage of some trifling injuries done to French residents in Tahiti to expel an English missionary named Pritchard. They then frightened the native Christian queen, Pomare, into a request for a French protectorate, which was turned later on, after a spirited resistance by the natives, into actual possession (1843-1844).

In the burning question of the Spanish marriage, Louis Philippe was held to have shown love of family aggrandisement at the cost of his kingly honour. So the *entente cordiale* with England was never quite restored down to the overthrow of the Orleanist dynasty.

Conquest of Algeria.—This was the one solid achievement of Louis Philippe in foreign affairs. In the first troublous years of his reign it was often debated whether the recently conquered town of Algiers should not be abandoned; but the advantage of having a naval station on the south of the Mediterranean ensured its retention, and two French captains in 1832 seized the port of Bona, near the frontier of Tunis. The difficulties of conquest in so rugged a country were only found out by degrees, but they served as a welcome diversion for the excitable French youth. The Arab hero was Abd-el-Kader, Emir of Mascara, near Oran, on the Morocco border. Combining the fanaticism of a Moslem with the activity, cunning, and bravery of a Jugurtha, he for a long time set the invaders of his country at defiance. This land, traversed by two main ranges of the Atlas mountains with numerous offshoots, and merging on the south into the burning desert of the Sahara, was as difficult for French troops to conquer, and to hold when conquered, as it was for the Romans. In 1834 the Arabs several times checked the French, and in 1836

hurled them back from a daring attack on the city of Constantine, perched on a rock above a roaring torrent. Clauzel and the young Changarnier led back their intrepid troops, though harassed by clouds of Arabs. Lamoricière took the city next year after a terrible struggle.

Abd-el-Kader was often beaten by the dash and energy of the French commander-in-chief, Bugeaud; but he only retired into the mountains or desert, to reappear where least expected, and once he made a raid almost to the walls of Algiers itself. As a reply to this act of bravado the king's fourth son, the dashing young Duc d'Aumale, at the head of a flying column surprised and captured the chief's moving encampment, and Abd-el-Kader himself had to flee into Morocco. A short war against the Moors obliged the chief to return and struggle on against superior forces, until on Christmas Day 1847 he surrendered to the Duc d'Aumale, who promised that he should be free to retire to Turkey; but Louis Philippe refused to ratify this promise, and ungenerously kept his foe a prisoner in France. He was liberated by Louis Napoleon in 1852.

Though the conquest of Algeria occupied the whole of Louis Philippe's reign, its colonisation has taken longer still. As Marshal Bugeaud said, "That is a work of giants and of centuries." In spite of droughts and locusts its exports of dates and grain are considerable; but for many years it was the most costly and unprofitable of colonies. Arab soldiers in French pay, called Zouaves, did good service in the Crimean war; and the following generals won their spurs in Algeria — Changarnier, Cavaignac, Saint-Arnaud, Canrobert, Macmahon, and Pélissier. The last raised a storm of execration in Europe by lighting fires at the mouth of a cave to suffocate numbers of Arabs who with their wives and children had

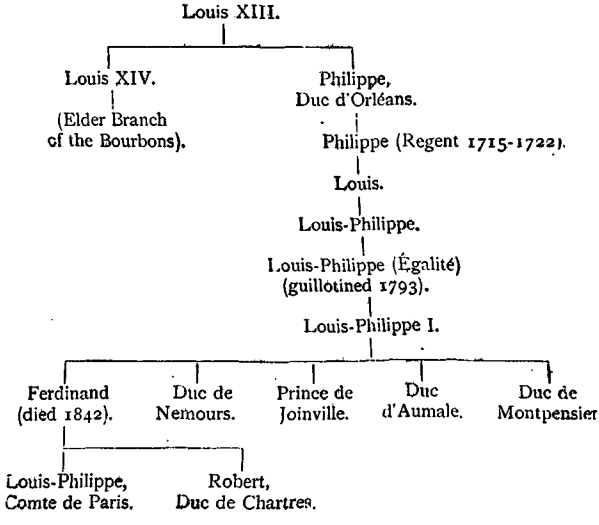
taken refuge there—an act defended by Soult, then Minister for War. In fact, the cruelties of this savage warfare brutalised many French generals and soldiers, and so made possible the events of 1851 in Paris.

Home Affairs.—In 1840 the present fortifications round Paris were begun. At a cost of six millions sterling a huge wall was raised with a ring of detached forts, which might defend or overawe the citizens. The regular army was also largely increased. Up to 1842 France had only one railway, viz. at St. Étienne; but the main lines were then planned and slowly commenced. Guizot's greatest work in office was a system of elementary education, passed in 1833. By 1848 the population of France was over 34,000,000.

Discontent in France.—In spite of the increase of comfort and luxury among the people there was increasing discontent at the somewhat sordid rule of Louis Philippe. The king in 1847 was seventy-four years of age; and, in spite of his great private wealth, he was constantly coming to the Chamber for grants and "portions" for his children. After devolving his private property on his eight children he claimed and received half a million sterling for his private income. The king and Guizot had outlived their early progressist policy. The absorption of Cracow by Austria in 1846 with a slight protest from Paris seemed to French Liberals a disgraceful surrender of the championship of the Polish cause. The heir to the throne, the Comte de Paris, was only four years old, and the prince who was to be regent after the king's death was his second son, the Duc de Nemours, who was hated for his absolutist tendencies. And yet the 224,000 "electors" of France, the "pays légal," in 1846 sent up a large majority of servile place-hunters, whose support strengthened Guizot in his policy

of resistance to reform. The bad harvests of 1845 to 1847 caused deficits in the national revenue, though expenditure went on as ever. For once the French opposition borrowed their method from England in the shape of reform banquets; but the folly of the government changed these peaceful protests into bloody affrays.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE HOUSE OF ORLEANS.



CHAPTER XXIX.

CENTRAL EUROPE (1831-1848).

"Hamlet is Germany."
(GERVINUS.—*Shakespeare Commentaries.*)

"Hi motus animorum atque haec certamina tanta
Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescunt."
VIRGIL.

Germany.—The passage of swarms of Polish refugees through Germany after the fall of Warsaw in 1831 renewed the disturbances of 1830 in a way which showed the unpractical character of German reforms then. Decked with the black, red, and gold colours of the old Empire, some 20,000 enthusiasts assembled around the ruins of an old castle in Rhenish Bavaria, and shouted, "Down with the princes!": yet the whole district was pacified by a few troops. A similar demonstration in Frankfurt-on-the-Main just gave to Metternich the wished-for opportunity of an equally cheap victory. A commission sat at this city, the federal capital, and some 1800 democrats were imprisoned. Even the progressist kings, Louis of Bavaria and William of Würtemberg, adopted similar means of repression.

In Hanover more stringent measures were soon adopted. The accession of Victoria to the British throne in 1837 severed the connection of Hanover with Great Britain, for, according to the Salic law, no woman could reign in

Hanover in her own right. So Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, the best hated man in England, received the crown of Hanover. In 1839 he annulled a Liberal constitution granted in 1833, and restored the reactionary measures of 1819. By this stroke he regained the crown lands of Hanover, which in 1833 had been declared State property. Seven professors, among them Ewald, Gervinus, and Grimm, refused to take the new oath and were dismissed from Göttingen University. For the present the king conquered.

Prussia.—The years between 1830 and 1848 were dull and uneventful in Prussia, save for the completion of the Zollverein or Customs Union.[1] In fact, Prussia was slowly storing up the resources which she used afterwards between 1862 and 1872 with terrible effect. Religious disputes between Roman Catholics and Protestants on the matter of mixed marriages embittered the last years of Frederick William's reign; and those between various Protestant sects and Rationalists were hardly less exasperating. The king sought to weld the orthodox Protestants into one Church, on which he bestowed a liturgy. Several Lutherans who refused to accept these new regulations were banished.

Frederick William IV (1840-1861).—In 1840 Frederick William III ended his long reign of forty-two years, so fraught with strange contrasts for Prussia and himself. He had been a fugitive before Napoleon at Memel, had entered Paris as a conqueror, and had since reigned for a quarter of a century of quiet, only broken by the upheaval of 1830.

His successor, Frederick William IV, was an impressionable being who looked back to the mediæval ideas of

[1] With the exception of the northern "Free Cities," which have just recently (October 1888) joined the Zollverein.

monarchy too much to satisfy the desires of his subjects. At his coronation at Königsberg he declared that he reigned by the grace of God, and "would never do homage to the idea of a general popular representation, but would pursue a course based upon historical progression, suitable to German nationality." The provincial Estates, or Assemblies, were summoned to meet; but the system of national representation promised to Prussia and Hanover in 1814 remained a promise. In fact, the new king clung to the old eighteenth-century policy, "All for the people, nothing by the people." The people were most carefully educated, but under the strict control of the State; they were free, within fixed limits, to manage their local and provincial affairs, but were not deemed worthy of national representation, and yet the defence of Prussia was entrusted to them, for every man was then liable to serve in the Landwehr up to his thirty-ninth year.

An attempt on the king's life in 1844 injured the democratic cause, which was at that time in bad repute owing to the extravagances of the rationalising philosophers.

The Parliament.—In 1847 Frederick William IV sought to satisfy his subjects by convening an Assembly with the grand title of United Prussian Parliament. Its Upper Chamber consisted of princes and nobles; the other of deputies elected by the knights, municipalities, and rural assemblies. Its powers were as limited as was its representative character. Permission was given to it to *advise* the king in the framing of new laws and redressing grievances, if the majority comprised two-thirds of the deputies; its consent was necessary for the imposition of new taxes, except in time of war.

It was, in fact, merely a central delegation of the Provincial

Estates of Prussia, for it was to meet only when summoned by the king. At its opening session the king said with his fatal facility of speech: "Never will I allow a sheet of paper, like a second revelation, to intervene between God in heaven and this people. . . . The Crown can, and must, govern according to the laws of God and of the land, not according to the will of majorities."

Naturally enough, the new Prussian Parliament had a short and feverish existence: in four months it was dissolved by the irate monarch (June 1847). The hopes of the Prussian people gave way to bitter disgust. Henceforth the king had the support only of the strictest Protestants, and of the nobles and Junkers,[1] or squires. Strauss in a pamphlet dubbed him "The romanticist on the throne of the Cæsars." Such was Prussia's prelude to the excitement of 1848.

Austria (1815-1848).—The Emperor Francis I, who had taken that title in 1804, but had reigned over the Austrian dominions since 1792, had seen the same extremes of fortune as his neighbour Frederick William III of Prussia; and after the triumph of 1814 he too settled down to twenty years of peace, broken only by the interventions of Metternich in affairs of neighbouring states. Such was the influence of the Austrian Chancellor that Vienna between 1814 and 1848 was the centre of European diplomacy. The homely Francis I, however, retained almost entire control over Austrian affairs, and even kept his ministers at a distance. Hence arose a laborious system of correspondence which wearied monarch, ministers, and officials alike, and resulted in a slow and pedantic routine. This patriarchal system accounts for the inefficiency of the Austrian Government down to 1866 in

[1] Derived from Jung Herr.

everything except the repression of liberty. Metternich himself complained of the "mania for details which would destroy the spirit of the highest administration;" and he proposed that the provincial Diets should be formed into an Imperial Diet (Reichsrath) composed of landed proprietors selected by the emperor. This proposal to strengthen, not to reform the government, was never carried into effect by Francis I.

So the aristocracy and clergy continued to exert great influence, though their power over legislation in the provincial Diets, except in Hungary, was very small. They were under the influence of the court, which bestowed favours on them for work in the army and government; and the clergy were almost as dependent on Vienna as on Rome.

Commerce.—The patriarchal government of Francis I, seen at its worst in the treatment of Italian patriots in the dungeons of the Spielberg, was yet enlightened enough to develop the commerce of his dominions. Trade with other nations had been almost non-existent owing to the heavy customs dues; but now Francis encouraged steam traffic on the Danube, and also from Trieste to the East. In the next reign, in 1838, a treaty of commerce was framed with England. So what Austria had lost by being shut out from the German Zollverein she partly regained by the expansion of her trade on the lower Danube. In the case of Prussia as well as of Austria the growth of political boundaries has followed the line of least resistance first marked out by commercial expansion.

Ferdinand I. (1835-1848).—The death of Francis brought to the throne his eldest son Ferdinand; but the bodily and mental weakness of the new sovereign assured to Metternich as much control as before over foreign

affairs. Education was neglected, and at the universities[1] the exact sciences were alone studied—to the exclusion of subjects which might spread new ideas. The Viennese were encouraged to lead lives of heedless pleasure, while misery often reigned on the estates of the nobles, who spent their revenues in the capital.

Cracow.—In 1846 a Polish insurrection burst forth in Galicia, which was Austria's share of the booty of Poland. The rising was confined to the old Polish nobility, who oppressed their serfs in the old days much more than the Austrian laws now allowed them to do; so the Polish peasants of Galicia rose against their lords in a terrible "Jacquerie," and the rebellion came to an ignominious end. In fact it only gave to Austria, Russia, and Prussia the desired opportunity of extinguishing the last relic of the once great Polish kingdom. The small republic of Cracow was by them declared to be annexed to Austria (1846). Poland had perished owing to its civil discords; but nearer Vienna Metternich was met by a united national resistance.

Hungary.—Amidst the exhaustion which followed the Napoleonic wars Hungary for some few years raised no protest against the suspension of her ancient system. This required that the Hungarian Diet should be convened at Presburg, the ancient capital, every three years; but it was not till 1825 that Francis I. gave way before the now unanimous demand of the Hungarian people. Resistance to the Viennese bureaucracy was spreading in Hungary along with reviving strength. The enlightened patriot Szechenyi gave his money, his labour, and his genius to found the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and he aided the great national work of rendering the Danube navigable,

[1] As now in Russia.

and in reclaiming more than 100 square miles from the marshes of the Theiss. His younger rival in the affections of the people was Louis Kossuth, who by his oratorical power and popular sympathies became the champion of Hungarian liberty against the press censorship of Metternich. Thrown into prison for publishing newspaper reports of the sessions of the Diet and of the county assemblies, he was at last, in 1840, released on the urgent demands of the Diet, and again published a newspaper at Pesth. Even peace-loving people in Hungary saw at last that the Viennese government intended to conquer them, when it incited the Croats and Slavonians of the Hungarian crown lands against the Magyar or Hungarian race. The time for Szechenyi's conciliatory policy was felt to be past, and the democratic leaders, Kossuth and the more moderate Deák, henceforth swayed the Hungarian people.

CHAPTER XXX.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Queen Maria II (1826-1853).—Don Pedro, the ambitious but constitutional Emperor of Brazil, had never acquiesced in the exclusion of his daughter, the young Queen Maria, from the throne of Portugal by his absolutist brother Don Miguel. Leaving a regent to govern in Brazil, he brought over a force to restore his daughter to her throne. Aided by the movements of 1830-1831, and strengthened by the help of the English captain Napier on sea, and of the French general Villaflor on land, he drove Don Miguel's supporters from Oporto and Lisbon, and dethroned the usurper after long and exhausting struggles.

Finally, in 1834 a new Quadruple Alliance was concluded between England, France, and the constitutional governments of Spain and Portugal, to support the Queen-Regent Christina of Spain and Queen Maria of Portugal against the pretenders Don Carlos and Don Miguel. This alliance of the constitutional sovereigns of the west of Europe was some counterpoise to that of the eastern Powers on the side of despotism; but General Bourmont and many other legitimists came to aid the cause of the "pretenders." Driven from Santarem on the Tagus, these took refuge in the mountains of Alemtejo in the south-west of Portugal; and Don Miguel signed a capitulation at Evora, by which

he undertook to leave the country. After the death of Don Pedro in 1834 there were renewed strifes, and changes more than once were made in the constitution. The young queen married, after the speedy decease of her first husband. Prince Ferdinand of Coburg. Their sons Pedro V and Luis I. successively occupied the throne of Portugal, This land has made little progress in wealth despite its excellent soil and climate, owing to the indolence of its people and the careless financing which has overburdened it with a crushing national debt.[1]

SPAIN.

CHRISTINA (REGENT), 1833-1843. ISABELLA II, 1843-1868.

The Carlist Wars.—Though Portugal seemed at the end of its troubles in 1836, Spain was then at the threshold of civil wars which have convulsed her down to recent years. On the death of King Ferdinand VII of Spain in September 1833, strife at once began between the supporters of the widowed queen Christina, who was declared regent for her daughter Isabella, and Don Carlos, the brother of the late king. As it had been in France and Portugal, so also in Spain, the younger brother of the late king was in each case a zealot in the cause of absolutism. Don Carlos found his support especially among the Basque provinces of the north of Spain. These provinces, especially Navarre and Aragon, long separated from the kingdom of Castile, had always resisted attempts to fuse them with the united kingdom of Spain; and they still clung with the proud tenacity of their race to their "fueros" or local privileges, which the constitutional party had foolishly hesitated to ratify. So they now joined the

[1] See p. 450.

Carlists, while the queen-regent was compelled to throw in her lot with the constitutionalists.

Don Carlos, after escaping from Evora, appeared in Navarre; and a merciless guerilla warfare was waged by the Carlist chief Zumala-Carreguy, until he lost his life at the siege of Bilbao in 1835.

Meanwhile the constitutional party had split into two sections at Madrid; and the extreme section, discontented at the ill success of their armies, proclaimed for the young Isabella, and demanded the restoration of the democratic constitution of 1812. The murder of monks and nuns and other violent excesses disgraced this party and embittered the civil war. In the midst of this anarchy a Carlist chief, Gomez, marched boldly through a great part of Spain; but when the leadership of the constitutional forces was given to the ambitious but able leader Espartero, the aspect of affairs changed. A British legion was enrolled on the side of Isabella, and effectively aided Espartero in raising the siege of Bilbao; but Don Carlos still held the mountain districts of the north, and in 1837 he made a sudden raid near to Madrid. Driven back by Espartero, he finally in 1839 sought refuge in France; but his general Cabrera for two years more continued the savage warfare in Aragon and Catalonia. These eight years of civil war inflicted on the unhappy land a total loss, it is reckoned, of nearly two millions of people—far more than in its struggles against Napoleon.

Military movements at Madrid overthrew first the authority of the Queen-Regent Christina, then of the successful Espartero; and at last the Cortès proclaimed Isabella of age though she was only thirteen years old (1843).

Before the accession of Isabella II one more constitution was promulgated. The sovereign was to share

the governing power with two Chambers called collectively the Cortès. The members of the Senate were to be chosen from a list of three candidates sent up by each province; the deputies of the lower Chamber were to be elected, one for every 50,000 inhabitants. Liberty of the press and equality of each citizen before the law were declared; but all these promising schemes have always miscarried in Spain, owing to the corruption of the whole government from top to bottom.

When the young Isabella grew up and married her cousin Francis of Assisi, she left the government to go on its old way, and the scandals of her private life were reflected in the corruption of the officials. Ministry followed ministry in quick succession, but the country was no better governed. The proud isolation of the Spanish character kept the peninsula free from the movements of 1848, which shook the thrones of many better rulers; and Spain entered upon a time of moral, political, and commercial torpor, which only ended in 1868. (See page 447.)

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE MOVEMENTS OF 1848-1849.

"The movements of this age have proceeded from the instincts of the masses: the influence of individuals is scarcely perceptible."

GERVINUS.

JUST as the shrinking of the earth's crust now and again produces terrible earthquakes along the line of weakest resistance, so the silent but potent changes in a nation's life, brought about by the application of science to manufactures and locomotion, will sometimes burst through the framework of a society which cramps and resists them.

In England, France, Germany, Prussia, Austria, and even in Italy, the artisan class had been growing more numerous and better organised in the great towns. Everything was favouring the concentration of population in great centres. Railways and steamboats were opening up all parts of the world to commerce, and the ensuing competition brought about a sharp fall in prices, with a consequent financial crisis. Bad harvests in 1847 augmented the misery and discontent. Also the prosperity of the United States and of the British colonies threw into dark contrast the systems of the continent. In England the Reform Bill of 1832 and subsequent measures, especially the repeal of the Corn Laws which began in 1846, had so strengthened the government that it easily

put down the Chartists' feeble imitation of the French Revolution of February 1848.

On the continent it was far otherwise. The first outbreaks occurred in Milan, then in Sicily and Naples; but it was from Paris that the great impulse came.[1] There the socialist teachings of Saint-Simon, Fourier, and the far more violent Proudhon, whose dictum was "Property is theft," had made much stir; they naturally gained some hold in a land where the government then was OF the rich *bourgeoisie* and FOR it alone.

Overthrow of Louis Philippe.—A reform banquet was announced to take place in the Champs-Elysées for February 22, 1848. The Guizot ministry forbade it; but the sympathy of the National Guard with its object, and the pillage of a gunsmith's shop, showed the temper of the Parisians. The king, at last aware that a crisis had come, received the resignation of the unpopular Guizot, and on the night between the 23d and 24th February sent for the more progressist Thiers, but it was then too late. A crowd of Parisians, marching joyously along with torches and a red flag, had found their way barred by troops opposite the Foreign Office; in the confusion a shot was fired by the crowd, and the soldiers in a panic answered with a volley. Several persons fell dead or wounded, and in the words of Lamartine, an apologist of this revolution, "the survivors found waggons perfectly prepared even at this hour of the night, as if they had been previously obtained, in order to exhibit through Paris those lifeless bodies and rekindle the fury of the people." The

[1] So sudden were these movements in 1848 that passengers by sailing-ships leaving England for India in January 1848 found on their arrival at Calcutta telegraphic news that half the monarchs of Europe had been deposed or compelled to grant constitutions.

Parisians, excited by this theatrical display, would hear of no compromise, and plundered the Palais Royal, the private palace of the Orleans family. The progressist Thiers ministry, still hoping that its accession would calm the populace, gave orders to Marshal Bugeaud that his troops should not fire. Thus by the 24th February, when they were urgently needed to protect the king, the discouraged troops everywhere gave way before the aggressive crowds. As the king was breakfasting in the Tuileries, a message came that the dragoons were surrendering their swords, and the soldiers their muskets, to the people. The king rode out to restore their confidence; but his hesitation, or desire to shed no French blood, had ruined his chances. The crowds were everywhere victorious and were besieging the Tuileries. Amidst this confusion Thiers resigned and recommended the more radical Odillon Barrot as his successor; but the excited mob pressed on, and in a few minutes Girardin, the well-known editor of a paper friendly to the king, rushed in. "Sire," said he, "the abdication of the king or the abdication of the monarchy: such is the dilemma." The king wrote, "I abdicate in favour of my grandson the Comte de Paris." As the mob drew near to the palace, the king and royal family (except the Duchesse d'Orléans and her son the young Comte de Paris) hurried through the palace gardens to a vehicle waiting in the Place de la Concorde. Under the sobriquet of Mr. and Mrs. Smith, the royal pair, often in danger of their lives in spite of their disguise, at last reached England. Guizot followed them, to add one more to the crowd of exiled potentates and statesmen who fled to our shores in 1848. The king died at Claremont in August 1850.

Lamartine.—Few men have been so quickly raised to

the height of power as Lamartine. He was a graceful poet, and his vivid history, "*The Girondists*," had done much to prepare for this outbreak. His brilliant oratory held the Chamber, or rioters alike, spell-bound; but he lacked that tenacity of purpose and that masterful power which the French prefer even to the sensibility of genius.

On the flight of Louis Philippe, the Duchesse d'Orléans with her two boys entered the Chamber; but the irruption of an armed mob terrified her into flight with the young king and his little brother.[1] Hereupon Lamartine ascended the tribune, and, after a frantic tumult, names were read out of men who should form a provisional government until a republic could be constituted. Among these were Lamartine, Arago, and Ledru-Rollin, the advocate of universal suffrage. Afterwards the mob added Louis Blanc, the revolutionist, to the list. These men, taking possession of the plundered town-hall, in a room bare of all furniture drew up decrees, such as the abolition of death for political crimes, and of slavery in French colonies: these they at once proclaimed to the mob below. On March 2, 1848, the committee proclaimed universal suffrage, and summoned all Frenchmen to elect a **Constituent Assembly** to organise the republic.

National Workshops.—To appease the "red" republicans and the many workmen who were starving amid the stoppage of trade, the committee started State-workshops (*ateliers nationaux*) for men without work. Light work and fairly good pay soon attracted as many as 120,000 men away from ordinary trade to idle away their time in

[1] As usual the Paris mob made or unmade governments; and when the highly-centralised government was once paralysed at its heart, it collapsed everywhere. The passive provinces accepted the changes from Paris with some grumbling about receiving their revolutions by post.

these State-workshops. Thus trade was still more disorganised, while the provisional government could barely pay the men out of its scanty resources; for the finances were in a desperate state, in spite of the doubling of the land tax

The Second Republic—The "Four Days."—The new Assembly, elected April 23, 1848, had scarcely proclaimed the republic when a mob of socialists and "reds" invaded the Chamber, only to be driven out by National Guards (May 15, 1848). At last it became necessary to close the State-workshops, but this was the signal for a civil war in Paris streets (June 23-26, 1848). General Cavaignac, at the head of regular troops, and the National Guards of Paris and Rouen, crushed the rising after four days of desperate barricade fighting. The Archbishop of Paris lost his life during his efforts at mediation; and not till eleven generals and vast numbers of soldiers and workmen had fallen was order restored: about 100,000 muskets were taken from the populace. The Chamber decreed the thanks of the country to Cavaignac, and named him temporary president of the republic till the new constitution should be completed. At a terrible cost the young republic had triumphed over the extremists. It was to succumb to a more insidious foe.[1]

As in 1830, so again in 1848, the Paris Revolution fanned into a flame all the smouldering discontent in Italy, Austria, Germany, and Prussia.

Italy in 1848-1849

Pius IX.—The Papal States and all Italy were in 1847 stirred to new life and hope by some well-meant reforms

[1] See p. 254.

granted by the newly-elected Pope Pius IX, and soon the cry "Viva Pio Nono" rang through Italy. When Metternich ventured on sending Austrian troops to occupy Ferrara in 1847, he was constrained to withdraw them on the representations of Lord Palmerston. So the Italians were full of hope.

The Smoking Riots at Milan. — The Austrian Government had not only wounded Italian feelings by appointing Austrians as judges, professors, and governors in Lombardy-Venetia, but had cut off by custom-houses these two rich provinces from trade with the rest of Italy. Therefore, as the sale of tobacco was a monopoly of the Austrian Government, the patriots of Lombardy on the first day of 1848 resolved to buy no tobacco.[1] Thereupon Radetzky, the Austrian governor of Milan, ordered his soldiers ostentatiously to smoke in the streets. On January 2 and 3, 1848, the "smoking riots" began in Milan, and soon in Pavia and Padua. So when the news of the revolutions at Naples, Paris, and Vienna reached Milan, the Italians rose against their oppressors, who now at last seemed to be helpless in their own capital.

Naples.—Meanwhile Sicily, on January 12, 1848, began to struggle for its free constitution of 1812; and a few street demonstrations at Naples terrified Ferdinand II into suddenly granting a constitution which he might earlier in his reign have gracefully conceded (January 29, 1848). This, however, did not satisfy the ardent Sicilians, who proclaimed their complete independence of Naples. This schism in the constitutional party of the south was again fatal to its success. Ferdinand in May 1848 triumphed over the Neapolitan patriots, and in September his warships

[1] As in 1773 the North American colonists refused to buy tea, which was a monopoly of the English Government.

ferociously bombarded Messina. His victory was soon followed by the withdrawal of the Constitution, and by wholesale imprisonments in dungeons too foul for the prison doctors to venture into. Palermo surrendered in May 1849. Messina in revenge gave to Ferdinand the nickname "King Bomba."

The "Five Days" at Milan — Novara. — The spring of 1848 was in fact all through Italy a spring-tide of hopes too bright to last. Pope Pius IX, the Duke of Tuscany, and Charles Albert granted a share in the government to their citizens; and the Milanese, excited by the first rising of the Viennese against the Austrian Government (March 13), took up arms against Radetzky's troops, and after five days of desperate street-fighting drove them out of their city (March 18-22). At Venice too the crowd broke into the prison to rescue the patriot advocate Manin, and then expelled the Austrian troops, which also had to retire from Cremona.

Finally, Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, emboldened by the difficulties of Austria and by the clamour of his own subjects, declared war against her. Success seemed indeed to be certain, for volunteers poured in from Tuscany and Naples to help drive out the hated foreigners. But after a trifling success at Goïto, the patriots were defeated at Custozza (July 24) by Radetzky, who was then unhampered by having to hold down several towns. In the next year Charles Albert again hazarded a campaign against Austria (March 12, 1849); but on the 23d of the same month he was utterly beaten at Novara, in spite of the bravery of his troops. In despair he abdicated in favour of his eldest son Victor Emmanuel, and for some months he wandered about western Europe a forlorn exile. Brescia was punished for its desperate resistance to the Austrians under Haynau by terrible vengeance. Venice was the last city to succumb

to the reaction of 1849. After the fall of Rome and of the Hungarian cause, the island city still held out against the Austrian cannon without, and the ravages of cholera within, its walls. Not until their defences were in ruins did Pépé and Manin surrender (August 25, 1849).

Rome.—To Rome also these years 1848 and 1849 brought the like extremes of hope and despair. Pope Pius IX had appointed Count Rossi, a moderate reformer, to head the new constitutional government; but this statesman, hated by jealous cardinals and raging democrats alike, was stabbed just after the first session of the new Parliament (November 15, 1848). The excited Roman populace then overpowered the Swiss Guard at the Quirinal, and compelled the pope to dismiss his foreign troops. The terrified pontiff fled secretly to Gaëta for the protection of Ferdinand of Naples.

The Roman Republic.—Now at last Mazzini found his ideal within his grasp. A Constituent Assembly at Rome declared the temporal power of the pope abolished, to make way for a Roman Republic (February 1849). Tuscany also declared itself a republic united to Rome; and its duke joined the pope in exile at Gaëta; but soon the triumph of the Austrians enabled the duke's partisans to restore his power. Rome would have succumbed in the same way to the tide of reaction in 1849, had it not been for the presence of a born leader of men.

Garibaldi.—Hardened in his boyhood by a seafaring life at his birthplace, Nice, the young patriot had given his indomitable energies to the cause of liberty in the South American Republics. On his return to Italy he was rapturously welcomed, and after the disaster of Custozza he still harassed the Austrians in the hill-country around the Italian lakes; but at last he retreated into Switzerland.

worn out with marsh-fever. Such was the man whom Mazzini called to aid in the defence of Rome against the troops sent by the sister republic of France. Garibaldi inspired the Romans with courage like his own, and they beat back the troops of General Oudinot from the walls.

The French president, Louis Napoleon, though he had in 1831 fought for the sake of Roman freedom, now sent reinforcements to Oudinot in spite of the opposition of all true French republicans. Succour also came to the pope's cause from the Bourbons of Naples and Madrid; but Ferdinand's troops were hurled back at Palestrina and Velletri. Schisms, however, now began to weaken the republicans when they needed all their strength.

Oudinot with 35,000 men and an artillery train now advanced a second time on the Eternal City, which was defended by some 15,000 Garibaldians. Though the French captured an outpost under cover of a truce, yet a week of cannonade and assaults only made one practicable breach in the walls. On the night of the 30th June 1849 three French columns pressed in on the Roman barricades, defended by the red-shirted Garibaldians. These at last gave way before the weight of numbers; and Garibaldi, stained with blood but unwounded, himself admitted that defence was now impossible, unless Rome followed the example of Saragossa. He then said to his devoted band, "Soldiers! I offer you hunger, thirst, cold, heat, no pay, no rations; whoever loves Italy, follow me." Nearly 4000 followed him across the Apennines; but they were hunted down by the Austrians near Rimini, where his brave wife died. Finally he reached New York, there to join Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, Felix Pyat, Lamartine, Kossuth, and many other exiled democrats.

Temporal Power restored.—Pope Pius IX on his

return to Rome in the spring of 1850 revoked the constitution, and handed over the government to the cardinals, who, relying on the support of Louis Napoleon, ruthlessly crushed popular liberty.

The failure of the Italian patriots in 1848-49 was due to their internal divisions and want of due preparation Sicily acted independently of Naples, and Central Italy of North Italy. But though French troops remained in Rome to prop up the temporal power of the pope, yet French jealousy of Austrian predominance soon gave the Italians another opportunity; and their cause had found two stalwart champions in Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel II.

AUSTRIA (1848-1849).

The rise of national feeling among the Hungarian, Slavonic, and Italian subjects of the House of Hapsburg was not the only difficulty of the Emperor Ferdinand I. Vienna was then the gayest and the dearest centre of fashion and luxury in Europe, but side by side with wealth there seethed a mass of wretched poverty; and the protective trade system of Austria so increased the price of the necessaries of life that bread-riots were frequent. During the distress of the end of 1847 a rumour spread that a widow in the capital had killed one of her own children to provide food for the others. The university students were foremost in the demand for a constitution and for the removal of the rigid censorship of the press and of all books. So when the news came of the flight of Louis Philippe from Paris, the students as well as the artisans of Vienna rose in revolt (March 13, 1848), the latter breaking machinery and attacking the houses of unpopular employers. A deputation of citizens clamoured for the

resignation of the hated Metternich: his house was burnt down, and he fled to England. A second outbreak of the excited populace (May 15, 1848) sent the Emperor Ferdinand in helpless flight to Innsbruck in Tyrol; but he returned when they avowed their loyalty to his person, though they detested the old bureaucratic system. Far more complicated, however, were the race jealousies of the Empire.

Bohemia.—The Slavs of Bohemia, though cut off from their brethren in the south of the Empire by the German and Hungarian races, were at this time enthusiastic for their race. They had demanded of Ferdinand the union of Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia in Estates for those provinces, and that the Slavs should enjoy equal privileges with the Germans. After an unsatisfactory answer had been received, they convoked a Slavonic Congress at Prague. Hither came deputies from the Poles and Ruthenians of Galicia, from the Croats and Serbs of the Turkish frontier, from the Moravians, and the Slovaks of North Hungary; but while this Babel of tongues was seeking for a means of fusion, Prince Windischgrätz was assembling Austrian troops around the Bohemian capital. Fights in the streets led to a bombardment of the city, which Windischgrätz soon entered in triumph. This has left a bitterness between the Tsechs or Bohemians and the Germans, which still divides Bohemia socially and politically; the Slavonic races of the Empire, which far outnumber either the Germans or the Magyars singly, still demand a *federal* representation of the races of the Empire. The dual system of 1867 has not met their aspirations.

Hungary.—The exciting news of the spring of 1848 had made the hot Asiatic blood of the Magyars boil; yet even Kossuth and the democrats at first only demanded

the abolition of Metternich's system in favour of a representative government, for they were attached to Ferdinand as the lawfully-elected King of Hungary, crowned with the iron crown of St. Stephen, and they only wished to rid him of bad advisers. On the news of the first Viennese outbreak the democrats in the Hungarian Diet were able to compensate the nobles for the abolition of all vestiges of feudal dependence among their peasants, and to enact freedom of the press and universal military service (March 1848). Unfortunately Kossuth claimed that the Magyar laws and language must now be supreme not only in Hungary proper, but also in the Hungarian "crown lands" of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia,[1] and the enthusiastic Magyars wished also to absorb the ancient principality of Transylvania; but this again was stoutly resisted by the Roumanians, Slavs, and Saxons of that little-known corner of Europe, and their discontent was fanned by the court of Vienna. Jellachich, the Ban or Governor of Croatia, headed this movement, which aimed at making Agram the capital of the southern Slavs. Their revolt against the Hungarian ministry of Batthyanyi was at first disavowed in June 1848, but in October was encouraged, by the perfidious government of Vienna. A conference between Batthyanyi and Jellachich ended with words of defiance: "Then we must meet on the Drave," said the Hungarian. "No, on the Danube," retorted the champion of the Slavs.

Civil War.—The vacillating Ferdinand annulled his acceptance of the new Hungarian constitution and declared Jellachich dictator of Hungary. His tool was unfortunate. After crossing the Drave the Slavs were defeated by the brave Hungarian "honveds" (defenders); and as many as

[1] Belonging to Hungary by right of ancient conquest.

9000 were made prisoners. Unable to subdue Hungary, Jellachich turned aside towards Vienna to crush the popular party there. For the democrats, exasperated by the perfidious policy of the government, had on October 6, 1848, risen a third time: the war-minister, Latour, had been hanged on a lamp-post, and the emperor again fled from his turbulent capital to Olmütz, a stronghold in Moravia.

But now Jellachich and Windischgrätz bombarded the rebellious capital. It was on the point of surrendering when the Hungarians appeared to aid the city; but the levies raised by the exertions of Kossuth were this time outmanœuvred by the imperialists at Schwechat (October 30, 1848), and on the next day Vienna surrendered. Blum, a delegate from Saxony, and some other democrats were shot.

By this clever but unscrupulous use of race-jealousy the Viennese Government seemed to have overcome Bohemians, Italians, Hungarians, and the citizens of its own capital, in turn; while it had diverted the southern Slavonians from hostility to actual service on its side. So strong is the binding power which the House of Hapsburg has exerted over the diverse races of the Empire! It has been often said, "If the Austrian Empire did not exist it would be necessary to create it." Never was that truth more clearly shown than amid the disruptive forces of 1848.

Francis Joseph I.—The weak health and vacillating spirit of Ferdinand did not satisfy the knot of courtiers at Vienna, who now, flushed by success, sought to concentrate all power in the Viennese Cabinet. Worn out by the excitements of the year and by the demands of these men, Ferdinand, on December 2, 1848, yielded up the crown, not to his rightful successor, his brother, but to his nephew

Francis Joseph. He, a youth of eighteen, ascended the throne so rudely shaken, and still, in spite of almost uniform disaster in war, holds sway over an empire larger and more powerful than he found it in 1848.[1]

The Hungarians refused to recognise the young sovereign thus forced upon them; and the fact that he was not crowned at Presburg with the sacred iron crown of St. Stephen showed that he did not intend to recognise the Hungarian constitution.[2] Austrian troops under Windischgrätz entered Buda-Pesth, but the Hungarian patriots withdrew from their capital to organise a national resistance; and when the Austrian Government proclaimed the Hungarian constitution abolished and the complete absorption of Hungary in the Austrian Empire, Kossuth and his colleagues retorted by a Declaration of Independence (April 14, 1849). The House of Hapsburg was declared banished from Hungary.

The Hungarian Wars.—Kossuth, the first governor of the new State, and Görgei, its general, raised armies which soon showed their prowess. They beat the Austrians in a pitched battle at Nagy-Salo, and finally drove them out of Buda-Pesth. In Transylvania, too, the Hungarians, under the talented Polish general Bem, overcame the Austrians, Slavonians, and Roumanians in many brilliant encounters.

But the proclamation of a republic had alienated those Hungarians who had only striven for their old constitutional rights, so quarrels arose between Görgei and the ardent democrat Kossuth. Worse still, the Czar Nicholas, dread-

[1] Another proof of the necessity that some one power should exist to bind together the races of S.E. Europe.

[2] In fact he was not crowned till 1868, after the dual system was adopted, and not till then was he the constitutional sovereign of Hungary.

ing the formation of a republic near his Polish provinces, sent the military aid which Francis Joseph in May 1849 implored.

Soon 80,000 Russians under Paskiewitch poured over the northern Carpathians to help the beaten Austrians, while others overpowered the gallant Bem in Transylvania. Jellachich with his Croats again invaded South Hungary, and Haynau, the scourge of Lombardy, marched on the strongest Hungarian fortress, Komorn, on the Danube. In despair Kossuth handed over his dictatorship to his rival Görgei, who soon surrendered at Vilagos with all his forces to the Russians (August 13, 1849). About 5000 men with Kossuth, Bem, and other leaders escaped to Turkey. Even there Russia and Austria sought to drive them forth; but the Porte, upheld by the Western Powers, maintained its right to give sanctuary according to the Koran. Kossuth and many of his fellow-exiles finally sailed to England, where his majestic eloquence aroused deep sympathy for the afflicted country.

Many Hungarian patriots suffered death. All rebels had their property confiscated, and the country was for years ruled by armed force, and its old rights were abolished. The passive resistance of the Hungarian nation, guided by the prudent Deák, in time produced its result. Hungarian discontent, and the necessity of holding down so large a country by military force, was one of the main causes of the unexpected weakness which Austria showed in the wars of 1859 and 1866. (See page 320.)

GERMANY (1848-1849)

The smaller States of Germany again presented the ludicrous spectacles shown to the world in 1830. On the

news of the Paris Revolution of February 1848 several of the rulers hastened to grant to their excited subjects the constitutional rights which for eighteen years they had refused. Then after the panic was over things generally resumed their old course. The excitement swept from Cologne to Mannheim, Munich, Carlsruhe, Darmstadt, Hanover, and Dresden, to Berlin itself.[1] It thus shook comparatively well-governed States like Baden, Würtemberg, and Saxony, as well as despotic Hesse and Hanover. In Bavaria King Louis, once a supporter of the Greeks and an opponent of Metternich, had become his tool, and now handed over much of the court patronage to a famous *danseuse.* Having thus lost the respect of his people, he abdicated on March 20, 1848, in favour of his eldest son Maximilian II, who reigned over Bavaria till 1864.

The Baden democrats, not content with a constitution which was the envy of the rest of Germany, rose with demands for a free press, a citizen army, and a united Parliament which should represent the citizens of all Germany. Their initial successes led to similar demands being made and hastily granted in Hanover, Würtemberg, and the two Hesses.

The First German Parliament.—The combined impulse towards national unity and reform was so powerful that a Parliament was elected by universal suffrage in proportion to the population of the German States and of Prussia. It was recognised by the old Confederate Diet (Bundestag), and met at Frankfurt-on-Main (May 18, 1848); but the theorisings of its deputies soon disgusted the electors. After devising a constitution, which was in derision called "a transcript of the parchment of Magna

[1] The troubles in Schleswig-Holstein will be considered with that complicated question as a whole. See p. 291.

Charta on continental blotting-paper," the young Parliament came to a ludicrous end, for it failed to find any sovereign in Germany who would consent to rule over the new State which it claimed to have created. It vainly offered the new imperial crown to Frederick William IV of Prussia, who at once refused to make himself the "serf of the revolution" (April 1849), which he had caressed and crushed in Berlin. Thus ended the only chance of Prussia being absorbed in a democratic Germany. Instead of that, Prussia, after a lapse of twenty-three eventful years, was to absorb the German States, to form a compact military empire.

Berlin in 1848-1849. — The excited Berliners at a monster meeting had demanded freedom of speech, of the press, and of the right of meeting, full equality in civil and political rights, and the establishment of trial by jury. Disturbances took place, which on March 18 finally led to a slight collision between the troops and the people, excited as they were by the downfall of absolutism at Vienna three days earlier. The impressionable king, overcome by these events, then granted all their demands. But as the Berliners were expressing their delight before the royal residence two shots were fired, either by the troops, or, as at Paris, by revolutionists. In a moment the crowd was charged before the king's eyes by a squadron of dragoons. The infuriated populace flew to arms, and defended barricades with desperation. After a terrible night of carnage the distracted monarch told his "dear Berliners" that the collision was due to a "deplorable misunderstanding," and he ordered all his troops to leave the capital. He himself stood with head uncovered on the balcony of his palace while a vast procession followed the funeral *cortège* of the men slain in the fight. The Prussian United Diet

(Landtag) was convened on April 22, 1848, to pave the way for a Constituent Assembly which should prepare a constitution for Prussia. This first Assembly was ultra-democratic. Relics of feudalism were to be abolished, and unpopular officers to be dismissed from the army; but the collapse of the democratic cause at Vienna was followed by as sudden a reaction at Berlin. The Assembly was ordered to Brandenburg, while General Wrangel received the royal command to march into Berlin to put down mob rule. The "rump" of the Assembly still persisted in meeting in Berlin; but, like the unfortunate Frankfurt Parliament, it had become merely a violent debating club, and it was finally dissolved on December 5, 1848. A new constitution was then proclaimed by the king. It established a government by two elective Chambers which were to meet on February 26, 1849; but the king now felt himself strong enough not only to dissociate himself from the national movement by refusing the German crown, but also to dissolve the new Prussian Parliament when it disagreed with him (April 27, 1849), and in May to recall the Prussian deputies from the Frankfurt Parliament. Finally the Prussian king and a new Parliament came to an understanding after mutual concessions; and in February 1850 the king promulgated the revised constitution, which placed Prussia among the ranks of self-governing States.

Collapse of the German Movement (1849).—The successes of the Hungarians over the Austrian Government in the spring of 1849 rekindled all the discontent of Germany, from Posen through Saxony and the Rhine towns down to the south-west corner, where the democrats were strongest; but 15,000 Prussian troops overpowered the brave levies of Baden and of the Palatinate, which fought for a German republic; and Baden was for a time occupied

by Prussian troops. Meanwhile the German Parliament had been weakened by the withdrawal of the Prussian deputies and the resignation of other Germans. The "rump" of this Parliament then removed to Stuttgart, and was finally dispersed by the Würtemberg soldiery (June 18, 1849).

Switzerland. — The Baden democrats had matured their designs on Swiss soil, where the cause of freedom in 1848 won a more lasting success than in the great countries of Europe. It has been shown[1] how the Liberal cantons had defeated the league of the Ultramontane cantons known as the Sonderbund, and had occupied its central town Lucerne (November 1847). This was followed by the dissolution of the league, the expulsion of the Jesuits, the alteration of the cantonal governments, and in 1848 by the closer union of all the cantons in an organised confederation. One Chamber (Senate) was to be elected by the several cantonal councils, the other by the people as a whole. By these two Assemblies the Federal Council is chosen, at whose head stands the President. (See Chapter XLVI.)

Elsewhere in Europe the constitutional cause had gained solid results only in Prussia, Bavaria, and Hanover. In Italy, France, and Austria its triumphs were brief though brilliant. Italy and Hungary[2] had, however, started the movements of 1848 and 1849, as this synopsis will show :—

[1] Page 201.

[2] In Hungary about 9,000,000 serfs received their freedom (1848) by the unanimous vote of the Hungarian Diet, the nobles of their own free will sacrificing these rights. Religious freedom, trial by jury, and proportionate taxation were also enthusiastically carried in a veritable "St. Bartholomew of privileges" like that of Aug. 4, 1789, at Versailles (see p. 14).

SYNOPSIS OF THE EVENTS OF 1848.

FRANCE.	GERMANY.	AUSTRIA.	ITALY.
			"Smoking Riots" at Milan (January 2, 3).
Reform banquet forbidden (February 22).			Sicilian rising (January 12).
Revolution: Provisional Government (February 24).	Fighting in Berlin (March 16-18).	Rising at Vienna (March 13).	New constitution at Naples (January 29).
	King of Bavaria abdicates (March 20).	Slav Congress at Prague (May 1).	The "five days" at Milan (March 18-22).
	Reforms in Saxony, Hanover, etc. (March).	Second rising in Vienna (May 15).	Charles Albert declares war on Austria (March 23).
Constituent Assembly meets (May 4).	Risings in Posen and Baden (April).	Slavs rise against the Hungarians (June).	Ferdinand subdues Naples (May 15).
	Constituent Assemblies	Prague bombarded (June 18).	
Street fights (June 23-26).	Meet at Frankfurt (May 18). Meet at Berlin (May 22).		Battle of Custozza (July 25).
			Surrender of Milan (August 5).
Presidency of Cavaignac (June-December).	Second Baden rising (July).	Third rising in Vienna (October 6).	Ferdinand subdues Sicily (September-October).
		Slavs defeated by Hungarians (October 7).	
		Battle of Schwechat (October 30).	Murder of Rossi at Rome (November 15).
		Surrender of Vienna (October 31).	Flight of Pius IX (November 25).
Louis Napoleon president (December 10).	Prussian Assembly dissolved by king (December 8).	Abdication of Ferdinand (December 2).	

SYNOPSIS OF THE EVENTS OF 1849.

FRANCE.	GERMANY.	AUSTRIA.	ITALY.
		Austrians occupy Buda-Pesth (January 5).	
	Prussian Parliament opened (February 26).		Roman Republic proclaimed (February 9).
Expedition to Rome decided (April).		Imperial Constitution proclaimed (March 4).	Second Sardinian campaign against Austria (March 13).
	Prussian king declines the German crown (April 28).	Battle of Gödöllö (April 9).	Battle of Novara, and
	Dissolves Prussian Parliament (April 27).	Hungarian Declaration of Independence (April 14).	Abdication of Charles Albert (March 23).
Legislative Assembly meets (May 28).	Risings in Rhine province and Dresden (May 3-8).	Austrians evacuate Buda-Pesth (April 23).	Sack of Brescia (April 1).
New electoral law (May 31).	In Baden and Palatinate (May).		Sicily subdued (April-May).
	German Parliament removes to Stuttgart, and is dispersed (June 18).	Russians occupy Presburg (June 3)	French defeat at Rome (April 30).
Ledru-Rollin's rising suppressed (June).			Austrians occupy Ancona (June 19).
			Rome surrenders (June 30).
	Baden rising crushed (July 23).	Görgei surrenders at Vilagos (August 13).	Venice surrenders (August 22).

CHAPTER XXXII.

EUROPE (1849-1880).

WE now come to a period characterised, not so much by local movements and revolutions as by well-organised national efforts for unity. The difference is due to the gradual growth of representative government, and to the extension of railways and telegraphs. The former satisfied the aspirations of the provinces, the latter gave to the government power to crush local insurrections before they could gather head.

The reconstruction of Europe effected after Waterloo had already been modified before 1849. Belgium was separated from Holland. The Bourbons, both of the elder and younger lines, were driven out of France, and a Napoleon was soon again to be Emperor of the French. Yet though the treaty of Vienna had failed to make a lasting settlement, it at any rate secured to exhausted Europe forty years of peace broken only by the Russo-Turkish war (1828) and by civil conflicts.

By the autumn of 1849 the last of the isolated struggles for liberty seemed to have failed. Only Greece and Belgium had gained their independence. Italy, Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, with Schleswig-Holstein and many more of the German States, seemed to be as far as ever from the goal of their efforts. On the other hand, Prussia, Bavaria,

Piedmont, and Switzerland were being governed more in accordance with their peoples' desires; and all over the continent the forty years of comparative peace so strengthened the mercantile and operative classes, that they gained more and more control over the governments.

After the disappointments of the Crimean War, English Governments have intervened less and less in the affairs of the continent; but Lord Palmerston gave most effective diplomatic support to King Victor Emmanuel and Cavour after the preliminaries of peace at Villafranca. In fact, it was the support of the British Government which then decided the union of the central Italian duchies with the kingdom of Sardinia; and it also informally aided Garibaldi in his overthrow of the Neapolitan Government.

In the Schleswig-Holstein question, however, Lord Palmerston's threats of intervention in favour of the Danish claims only had the unfortunate effect of impelling the Danes to the extreme assertion of those claims, and to a conflict with the far superior forces of Prussia and Austria. Since then the British Government, except in 1878, has been a passive spectator of the great events which led to the completion of German and Italian unity—the two greatest events of the century in Europe.

The result of the Crimean War had served to discredit the maintenance of the "Balance of Power," which before 1855 seemed threatened by the Czar Nicholas; but the events of 1870, and the formation of the Central Alliance, have readjusted the "Balance of Power," which seems necessary now that might rather than right is the mainspring of action. The astonishing triumphs which Prussia achieved by her highly-trained citizen army led all the continental Powers to adopt universal military service, which, year by year, has been made more rigorous. In order to meet the great strain on their

finances, all these countries strive to make the most of their resources, and even to stimulate them by artificial methods such as protective tariffs and bounties on exports; but their expenditure increases faster than revenue. They thus follow the policy of the first Napoleon in increasing their resources in order to expend them upon preparations for war.

Side by side with this waste of national energy, socialism has steadily increased. Centralised governments can now easily crush local revolts, but they have hitherto failed to cope with a secret but widespread discontent which shows itself in crude socialistic theories. In the large towns of Russia, Austria, Germany, France, and Spain, the revolutionists now and again attempt to terrify the authorities by individual deeds of violence, which reveal the hatred felt by irreconcilable minorities for governments which they cannot hope to overthrow by insurrections of the old type.

FRANCE—THE SECOND REPUBLIC.

The New Constitution.—General Cavaignac had been invested with a temporary dictatorship to protect the Constituent Assembly during the excitements of the summer and autumn of 1848. In November the new constitution was promulgated. It proclaimed manhood suffrage, a single Chamber of 750 delegates, from which all paid officers of the State were excluded. The executive power was to be entrusted to a president, the extent of whose powers showed how much the need of a strong controlling arm was then believed in. He was to share with the Chamber the right of initiating laws and ratifying treaties. He represented the State in foreign affairs, and could be re-elected after an interval of four years.

Louis Napoleon.—When the exiled Prince Louis Napoleon heard of the February revolution he said to a friend, "Within a year I shall be head of the French State." Before returning to France, he was elected by three departments as deputy to the Constituent Assembly; and the glamour of his name quite eclipsed the services which Cavaignac had just rendered to the State. In the election for the presidency Napoleon gained more than 5,000,000 votes, while Cavaignac received less than 1,500,000, Ledru-Rollin 370,000, and Lamartine only 17,900 votes! Such is popularity in revolutionary crises! (December 10, 1848).

The new President solemnly swore to remain true to the Republic, and was installed in the Elysée. He formed his first ministry of moderate men of all parties, as the voting had shown the small numbers of the "red" republicans. He next gained over the clergy, and through them the peasants, by supporting the French expedition to Rome in the spring of 1849 to restore the pope's temporal power. This step was approved by the new Legislative Assembly, which met in May 1849; it further showed its reactionary character by a law against political clubs after some riots had broken out at Lyons, Bordeaux, and Dijon. Every unpopular step taken by the Assembly was at once taken advantage of by the President, even though he might have agreed to it. This was the case with the electoral law of May 31, 1850, which deprived of their votes those who had not been registered as three years' residents at the place of voting. This law took away votes from 3,000,000 voters, especially from the ever-moving artisans of the large towns. The factions of the Assembly, especially the Legitimists, Orleanists, and socialists, gave the president an enormous advantage over it, which he sedulously improved by promoting

the material interests of the people, and by numerous State-progresses in the provinces. He often changed his ministries; and when the Assembly in July 1851 refused to revise the constitution so as to make the President at once eligible for re-election, Napoleon began to prepare a *coup d'état*, to which numerous cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" seemed to invite him. He dismissed his ministers for refusing to repeal the unpopular electoral law, and so placed the army under a new war minister, General St. Arnaud, entirely devoted to him; and on November 4, 1851, the President proposed the re-establishment of universal suffrage, but the Conservative and monarchist majority rejected the proposal.

Coup d'État (*Dec.* 2, 1851).—All his plans had been secretly concocted with the war minister St. Arnaud, and De Maupas, the chief of police. During the night printers were compelled to print the President's manifesto; before daylight the police had arrested all the chiefs of the opposition, whether monarchists, as Thiers, Changarnier, and Lamoricière, or republicans, as Cavaignac and Victor Hugo. The poet soon had to spend some years of exile in Belgium and the Channel Isles.[1]

Troops occupied the strategic points of the city, and also the place of meeting of the Assembly. Napoleon's manifesto, posted early all over Paris, proposed (1) his temporary dictatorship, (2) the dissolution of the Assembly, (3) universal suffrage, and (4) a constitution similar to that of 1799 (year VIII). Little opposition was offered, so much were the people disgusted with the Chamber, which they

[1] Napoleon's apologists urge as an excuse for the violation of his oath to the constitution that the monarchists had made government impossible, and that Changarnier was plotting to overthrow the Republic and set the Duc de Joinville on the throne of his father.

called "The national workshop with twenty-five francs a day pay."[1] A pretence of resistance in Paris drew down murderous volleys from the easily excited troops (December 4, 1851). Sixty-six republicans and a few monarchist deputies were banished; and France ratified the President's act by a plebiscite of 7,500,000 votes in his favour: (only 650,000 votes were against him).

The New Constitution.—Louis Napoleon modelled all his actions and policy on that of his uncle. Just as the latter had, after the *coup d'état* of 1799, made a constitution which kept all real power in his own hands, so now the nephew gave little more than pretence of government to the people. Ministers were to be responsible only to the head of the State; a Council of State was privately to prepare laws and submit them to the Legislative Body (*Corps Législatif*), which, though elected by universal suffrage, could not initiate laws, nor amend them save in accord with the Council of State. The Senate, consisting of illustrious men chosen for life by the chief of the State, was to revise the laws sent up by the lower Chamber, especially in relation to their bearing on the constitution, religion, morality, and national defence. A copy of the debates of these two bodies, officially revised, was the only form of publication at first permitted.

The Prince President completed his popularity by pushing on public works on every hand; the funds for many of these were found by annulling the transfer by Louis Philippe of his estate to his children—an act of personal revenge which was disapproved by many of Napoleon's friends. Soon at Bordeaux he calmed the fears of Europe and of the peace-loving peasants of France by

[1] The daily salary of each deputy.

saying, "The Empire is peace," and a *senatus consultum* of November 7, 1852, re-established the imperial dignity A plebiscite showed that France wished for the Empire, for more than 7,800,000 votes threw a cloak of legality over the usurpation.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE SECOND EMPIRE.

On December 2, 1852, the anniversary of Austerlitz, of the coronation of his uncle, and of his own *coup d'état*, Louis Napoleon was proclaimed Napoleon III.[1] He was soon recognised by the Powers; in fact, the English Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, had hastened to recognise the *coup d'état*, without the consent of his colleagues. But the haughty Czar Nicholas now patronisingly addressed Napoleon as "my good friend," instead of "cousin and brother," the usual greeting among monarchs.

In January 1853 Napoleon married Eugénie de Montijo, a talented Spanish countess, of Scottish descent on her mother's side, whose grace lent lustre to the imperial court and made Paris the brilliant centre of European gaiety. Their son was the brave but ill-fated Louis, Prince Imperial.

The obsequious Senate made the necessary changes in the constitution, giving the Emperor the right to make treaties of commerce and to modify tariffs, while a civil list of over a million sterling a year was voted to him. A new municipal law soon gave to the Emperor the right of appointing the mayors in all towns of any size, and to the prefects of departments the same right in small towns.

[1] Napoleon II had been named as his successor by Napoleon I, but never reigned.

Thus power was concentrated in the Emperor's hands to a perilous extent. But he and the empress sought to dazzle the country by the display and brilliance of their court, though it was always shunned by the old nobility. Napoleon also pushed on public works and railways, the latter of which were to revert to the State after ninety-nine years. He encouraged commerce by holding a great Universal Exhibition at Paris in 1855, to which every great country except Russia sent exhibits. In this same eventful year Napoleon and the Empress Eugénie visited our queen in London; this and the return visit of Queen Victoria to Paris in August marked Napoleon's admission into the circle of the old monarchies of Europe. In spite of the distress in France caused by the Crimean War and by three bad harvests, the country showed its wealth by eagerly subscribing to every State loan; and in 1856 France supported an army of 600,000 men.

Foreign Policy.—With such resources at his command, Napoleon sought to divert the attention of his people from the loss of constitutional liberty by an aggressive foreign policy, which belied his former words, "The Empire is peace."

The difficulties between Russia and Turkey seemed as though they could be settled when Napoleon's diplomatic action helped to precipitate a conflict, though the two western Powers had really smaller interests at stake than Austria, which remained neutral.[1] The war was concluded by the Peace of Paris (March 30, 1856), which also settled questions of maritime warfare. An enemy's goods henceforth could not be seized under a neutral's flag, nor a neutral's goods under an enemy's flag; and privateering was also abolished. The United States refused to join in this agreement.

[1] For the war, see page 348.

The Italian question was brought home to all Frenchmen by an attempt on the life of Napoleon. An Italian named Orsini and an accomplice hurled three bombs at the carriage of the Emperor as he was driving to the opera (January 14, 1858). Napoleon escaped uninjured, though 156 others were killed or wounded. The misguided Orsini before his execution wrote urging Napoleon to favour the Italian cause, or at least to prevent Prussia helping Austria in case Italy rose against the latter Power.

Cavour's skilful diplomacy, however, soon brought Napoleon to a more active intervention in favour of Italy than even Orsini himself had demanded. His plot had other results. Some French colonels used menacing words against England as the home of all conspirators, and these threats were answered by the revival of the volunteer movement of 1804. Our jealousy for the right of sanctuary on our shores was further shown by the rejection of Lord Palmerston's Bill, which proposed that men conspiring in England against the life of a foreign sovereign should be guilty of a felony. Hereupon Lord Palmerston resigned, but soon afterwards ousted Lord Derby, who was thought to be hostile to Italy's aspirations.

War with Austria.—The Orsini attempt, following close upon two other plots to assassinate Napoleon, led to strict repressive measures. France was divided into five military districts governed by five marshals, and many suspects were summarily imprisoned or banished to Algeria.

Napoleon desired to distract public attention from these home troubles by a war which would be popular with all Frenchmen. He further wished to figure as the champion of an oppressed nationality for which he had fought in his youth, and also to overthrow the old rival of France on

the plains of Lombardy—the scene of his uncle's most brilliant campaigns. These desires were fully gratified, though the aspirations of the Italians were cruelly disappointed after Napoleon's declaration that he would free "all Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic."[1] After gaining the two brilliant victories of Magenta and Solferino, Napoleon affected to fear a Prussian attack on Alsace, and concluded the preliminaries of the Peace of Villafranca (July 11, 1859). In return for his services in gaining Lombardy for the Italians, he required the cession of Savoy, which was French in language and sympathy, as well as of Nice, which was distinctly Italian. The French people, however, rejoiced at regaining what they called their natural boundaries in the south-east, and Napoleon increased his popularity in France by granting a complete amnesty to the political offenders and suspects (August 1859).

Commercial Treaties.—The next surprise which the Emperor had for his people was the declaration that France must now enter on the path of Free Trade. He had been convinced by the arguments of Cobden, who together with the French economist Chevalier prepared a commercial treaty with England (January 22, 1860). British duties were to be lessened on French wines, silks, jewellery, and "articles de Paris," while France was to withdraw her prohibition on imports of cotton and woollen goods, wrought iron and cutlery, subjecting them to a duty of about one-fourth of their value; and the French tariff on coal, coke, pig-iron, and steel was to be reduced. France has since made commercial treaties with Belgium, the German Zollverein, Italy, Switzerland, and Austria; but the resistance of the northern and central manufacturing

[1] For the war, see page 330.

towns has prevented any further progress towards Free Trade; and the Third Republic has in this respect shown itself more reactionary than the Empire, and has accorded to England only the so-called "most-favoured nation" scale of tariffs.

During the distress of the spring of 1861 Napoleon abolished the "sliding scale" duty on corn, and in July of the same year he allowed French colonies to trade directly with other nations. The distress which accompanies all economic changes was enhanced by the stoppage of cotton imports from the United States during the civil war.

Intervention in Syria.—After the restoration of Syria to Turkey, the corrupt or helpless pachas allowed the fierce Moslems, called Druses, to rob and murder their peaceable Christian neighbours the Maronites; and the Turks of Damascus fell on the Christians with fire and sword. A few French regiments, acting on behalf of Europe, restored comparative calm; and the Maronites began to till their lands and rebuild their huts during the nine months of the French occupation in Syria, ending June 1861.

American Civil War.—In fact, the years 1860-1866 were marked by wars all over the world; but all the rest together did not equal in magnitude the terrible struggle between the North and the South, the free and the slave States, of North America. Space will not permit any account of this vastest of all civil wars, in which the genius of Jackson and Lee shed lustre on a cause doomed to failure. The seeming prostration of the great republic lured on Napoleon to the fatal Mexican Expedition, which prevented him from crushing the rising power of Prussia.

The Mexican Expedition.—The Central American

States after their separation from Spain went through years of war and confusion, during which the United States seized California and New Mexico (1846-1847). In 1860 two rival generals, Miramon and Juarez, strove for power in the still great republic of Mexico, and the latter, victorious after some seventy fights, molested European residents in Mexico. England, Spain, and France sent a force to chastise him; but after the first two had their claims satisfied, Napoleon, urged on by interested schemers at his court, sought to conquer that great country, and to found there a Catholic empire side by side with the great Protestant republic.

The Austrian Archduke Maximilian was to be the emperor of this new State. A French force marched up from Vera Cruz to Puebla, which they took after a stout resistance, and then on to the city of Mexico (1863). The new emperor was upheld in his new dignity by the French troops, but the grave events of 1866 in Central Europe and a threatening despatch from Washington decided Napoleon to withdraw his troops. Maximilian, refusing to return with the French troops, was soon captured and shot by the Mexicans, who re-established the republic (June 1867).

This miserable failure, when contrasted with the brilliant triumph of Prussia over Austria, shook Napoleon's throne; for he had not his troops ready to be able to aid Austria and South Germany against Prussia, and his secret bargaining with Prussia for the Rhine frontier for France met with a stern refusal.[1]

Reforms.—The Emperor sought to cover this failure by a brilliant Universal Exhibition at Paris in 1867, and by beating back Garibaldi's attempt on Rome, which the French

[1] See p. 297.

troops again occupied. Napoleon's Minister of Justice, the burly and overbearing Rouher, proudly declared that France would "never" allow Italy to take Rome.

To satisfy the growing strength of French Liberalism Napoleon also gave greater freedom of discussion to the press and to the deputies in the Chambers. The imperial government had been fiercely assailed by a group of eloquent and energetic republicans, most of whom were barristers and deputies in the Corps Législatif. They declaimed against its liberty as a sham, its reforms as a mockery, and its plebiscites as mere tricks manipulated by officials and village priests. Of these radicals the best known were Rochefort, Picard, Favre, Ferry, Simon, and after 1868 Gambetta, a fiery young orator whose family was of Italian origin. The government had also to face the opposition of the monarchists led by the Duc de Broglie and Thiers, as also of the moderate republicans led by the barrister Ollivier. The poet Victor Hugo, from his exile in Guernsey, also assailed Napoleon "the Little" with his powerful invective and satire.

Finally in 1869 Napoleon sought to regain his waning popularity by conceding something like the power of a Parliament to the Corps Législatif and Senate. Ollivier was now won over by the reforms already granted or promised; and he now replaced in the ministry the brusque and reactionary Rouher, who was made president of the Senate. In September 1869 a "senatus-consultum," emanating from Napoleon, declared the responsibility of the ministry to the Chambers, and gave to the deputies the right of initiating or amending laws and of freely interpellating ministers; also the debates of the Senate were no longer to be secret. This was a fit opportunity for appealing to the nation to express its approval of the

imperial government. Seven and a third millions voted "Yes," and one and a half millions "No" (May 1870).

The Luxemburg Question.—This electoral success encouraged Napoleon to believe that a successful war against the hated Prussians would firmly establish his dynasty. He would doubtless have declared war in 1867 over the Luxemburg dispute if his army had been quite ready then. Luxemburg was still a personal possession of the Dutch king, but its connection with the German Confederation had ceased on its dissolution (1866). So the Dutch king, who wanted money, agreed to sell the duchy to Napoleon, who sought to buy off Prussian hostility by seeming to favour the union of North and South Germany in a new Confederation. Thereupon Bismarck suddenly made public the secret treaty of offensive and defensive alliance made between Prussia and the South German States in the preceding year. However, the dispute was hushed up in a Conference of the Powers held at London (May 1867). Prussia agreed to withdraw her troops from the fortress of Luxemburg. The duchy was to remain as a possession of the King of Holland, and was declared neutral ground by all the Powers.

Franco-German War.[1]—At Mentana (November 1867) the new Chassepot rifles had given terrible proof of their accuracy and rapidity of fire. By the law of 1868 the time of military service was raised from seven to nine years, of which four were to be with the reserves. Those who were fortunate enough to "draw a lucky number" and so escape the conscription, together with those who bought substitutes to take their place, were formed into a militia, or Garde Mobile. So Napoleon thought he possessed a regular army and

[1] For details of the war, see pp. 301-312.

militia as powerful as the Prussian army and Landwehr, and better armed; for the quick-firing mitrailleuse or machine-gun was more destructive than any field-gun of the Prussians, and Napoleon hoped that the South German States would join him, or at least remain neutral.

The French have often remarked that their intervention in Spanish affairs has been disastrous to themselves. It certainly was in 1870. On the 4th of July Napoleon's Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Duc de Gramont, sent a despatch to Berlin, saying that unless the candidature of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern for the Spanish throne was withdrawn, war might ensue between France and Prussia; and he aroused wild excitement in the Corps Législatif by protesting against this Prussian plan to revive the empire of Charles V under a Hohenzollern. The French Chambers and the French people were carried away by this idea of North Germany and Spain united under a hostile dynasty, and Gramont telegraphed to Benedetti to "insist" that the candidature should never be renewed. This of course meant war, for Napoleon's government believed itself sure of the support of all France, though the opposition, led by Thiers, Favre, Ferry, and Gambetta, voted against the war.

The French Minister of War, Marshal Lebœuf, had boastingly declared that army and stores were all ready, so that "at the end of a campaign we need not buy a gaiter-button." But the first week of the war, which was declared on July 17, 1870, disposed of this boast. Confusion reigned everywhere, and the rotten state of the administration was now revealed. Dishonest officials and contractors had robbed the army of its supplies. The forces were not nearly up to their paper strength, and the Garde Mobile had to be drilled before it could take the field. Metz and

Strassburg were not provisioned for a siege, and the former not fully armed. (See Chapter XXXVII.)

MacMahon was overpowered at Wörth and hurled back on the Chalons camp, while Bazaine was shut up in Metz by a series of terrible battles. Napoleon, oppressed by feeble health in the midst of these disasters, relinquished to Bazaine the supreme command and barely escaped to Chalons.

Fall of the Empire.—Napoleon had sent to the Empress Eugénie, who was in Paris as regent, a despatch, "All may yet be set right"; but the Ollivier ministry had fallen before the wrath and ridicule of the Chambers. Paris was declared in a state of siege, that is, under military rule; and a new ministry was formed by the aged Count Palikao, which vigorously strove to stem the tide.

MacMahon's advice now was to concentrate the available French forces inside the forts of Paris for the defence of the capital, but the Empress and Count Palikao knew that such a retreat would be the signal for a revolution in Paris. So they ordered MacMahon to rescue Bazaine's great army in Metz. The result of this imprudent order was the surrender of Napoleon and 83,000 troops at Sedan (September 2, 1870). When this terrible news reached Paris the Empire helplessly collapsed before a street demonstration. The troops sympathised with the people, a crowd rushed into the hall of the Corps *Législatif*, which suspended its sittings. Favre led the people to the Hôtel de Ville, where the Republic was proclaimed without any bloodshed, and on the same day it was also proclaimed in many large towns of France. The opposition deputies for Paris installed themselves at the Hôtel de Ville as the Government of National Defence.

The Empress and Prince Imperial escaped to England.

Napoleon, after remaining a short time as prisoner at Wilhelmshöhe, near Cassel, was allowed to proceed to his seat at Chiselhurst, Kent, where he died January 9, 1873, in his sixty-fifth year; and the death of his son Louis, gallantly fighting alone against a rush of Zulus (1879), extinguished the hopes of this branch of the Bonaparte family.

Napoleon III was a diligent student of history, and especially of his uncle's career. He professed a deep belief in his own destiny and in that of the Napoleonic family, both to free oppressed nations and to give to Frenchmen that enlightened autocratic rule which he thought most suited to the national character; but he had not his uncle's genius and strength, and was quite unable to cope with the democratic spirit in France, to keep the Italians in leading-strings, or to check the German movement towards national unity. In fact, his attempted compromises with these movements, alternating with short-sighted opposition to them, gave to his opponents at home and abroad successes the most complete where his opposition was the most pronounced.

His early life, spent in exile or imprisonment, had made him reserved and suspicious, like all conspirators. Hence he delighted in intrigues and surprises during his reign, for he never thoroughly trusted his own ministers, and often sought to hoodwink them. Bismarck, when ambassador at Paris, wrote of him: "The impulse to do precisely what no one expects is almost a disease with him, and is daily encouraged by the empress." In his complex character he had several generous qualities which gained him many faithful friends; but the gifts which he showered on all who helped him to power drew to his court a set of worthless adventurers, who lowered the tone of French public life by

their dishonesty and profligacy. The most enduring part of Napoleon's fame will be his regard for the material well-being of his subjects.

Legislation and Public Works of the Empire.—During Napoleon's reign many of the severities of the penal code were mitigated, and in 1864 a bill was passed to insure free discussion in wage disputes between employers and employed. Elementary education was extended by a law obliging every commune of more than 500 inhabitants to provide free education for boys and girls. Between 1851 and 1865 the sums expended on such education in France were doubled.

Under Napoleon's energetic supervision, roads, telegraphs, and railways were made or extended in all parts of France. The sandy heaths, or Landes, of the south-west coast were planted with firs and pines, to stop the inroads of the sea and provide a new source of wealth on those desolate plains. Canals opened up commerce between river systems, and several harbours were improved. Many of the old narrow streets of Paris made way for splendid avenues laid out by M. Haussmann, of whom it was said that what he found brick he left marble. Paris between 1852 and 1870 became more and more the great pleasure centre of the world. Provident and charitable institutions were also founded by the imperial government.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE THIRD REPUBLIC.

THE Government of National Defence had been (September 4) installed by the acclamation of the Parisians, though it was not constitutionally elected. It consisted of the radical deputies for Paris in the Corps Législatif, which was now indefinitely prorogued. The best known of the self-constituted ministers were Jules Favre for Foreign Affairs, Jules Simon for Public Instruction, Gambetta for the Interior, and General Trochu, an imperialist general who joined the new government: the last was named Governor of Paris, with full power in military affairs. Jules Ferry and Henri Rochefort also joined the government; but the liberal-minded monarchist, Thiers, held aloof from it, as did most moderate men. It had effected a bloodless revolution, and now it declared that as the republic had expelled the Prussians in 1792, so it would do again. "Not a foot of our land, or a stone of our fortresses" was Favre's retort to the German claim for Alsace. The Prussian King had declared that he waged war on the Emperor, not on the French nation; but the defiant attitude of the new government left small chance of a speedy peace. The Germans marched on Paris, into which some 400,000 French refugees from the provinces came for refuge. The town was provisioned, good order was kept, the walls

were armed, and a *levée en masse* of able-bodied citizens was held. They were enrolled as National Guards, which soon reached the number of 200,000, but were too undisciplined to be of much avail against the well-drilled Germans. More serviceable were the 130,000 men of the Garde Mobile; but the pick of the defending force consisted of the 80,000 regulars, especially the marines and sailors of the fleet, who worked the guns in the forts. On the 18th September the Germans arrived before Paris; and the capital was soon cut off from all news of the outer world except by carrier-pigeons. Trochu had not enough confidence in the discipline of his men to make any determined sorties at first, and waited for relieving armies from the provinces to help him to break through the iron circle.

Negotiations.—Three days after the siege commenced Favre had an interview with Bismarck at Ferrières, near Paris. He requested an armistice, so that a National Assembly might be elected. Bismarck replied that an armistice was unfavourable to the Germans now, unless Strassburg, Toul, and Bitsche were surrendered. Favre would not hear of this, and soon commissioned the veteran statesman Thiers to visit the neutral Powers to induce them to intervene in favour of France. Although the new government was not representative of France, Thiers received a welcome in London and Vienna; the British and Austrian Governments, though friendly to France, were resolved on a neutral policy; Russia had been definitely gained over by Prussia before the war, and had held back Austria from joining France against Prussia. Italy remembered Prussia's help in 1866 as more disinterested than that of France in 1859; but the aged Garibaldi came from Caprera to place his sword at the service of the young republic. After the failure of this mission Thiers strove to

gain from Bismarck (November 1) a month's armistice during which elections might be held; but as he insisted on a full re-provisioning of Paris, he too failed, and the siege was continued.

Gambetta.—Meanwhile the Minister of the Interior, the impetuous young Gambetta, who scorned all negotiations, had escaped from the besieged capital in a balloon (October 6) to rouse all France to the rescue of Paris. After numerous adventures he reached Tours, where he was made Minister of War as well as of the Interior. This self-constituted Government of National Defence at Tours, soon driven by the advancing Germans to Bordeaux, was a provincial delegation of the central committee or government at Paris. Gambetta, who was looked upon as the dictator of France, called to arms all men under forty years of age, to be drilled in large camps and then formed into five large army corps. Not even the fall of Metz daunted his fiery spirit. He branded Bazaine as a traitor, and soon gathered a large force on the Loire under General Aurelle de Paladines, which at Coulmiers, near Orleans, won the only French victory of the war (November 9, 1870). When this was beaten and divided, Gambetta placed Chanzy at the head of the northern part; and it was the dictator's call to arms which reinforced the southern part by levies from the south and hurled it against the Vosges in the mad hope of invading South Germany. His fiery eloquence, however, only prolonged the struggle and brought further suffering on France; but it was owing to Gambetta that she fell with honour.

Disorders in Paris.—If Gambetta had been governor of Paris, its defence might have been more creditable. Its governor, General Trochu, was not an inspiriting leader, and he distrusted his troops since several thousand National

Guards broke away in a panic at Châtillon, south of Paris (September 19). When one of his officers drove the Germans from Le Bourget on the north-east of Paris, Trochu did not support him at that advanced post, so the village was lost (October 30).

This was the opportunity for the "red" republicans to inflame the workmen of the Belleville district against the "traitors" who were betraying them to the Germans. They first besieged the Hôtel de Ville with a demand for the election of a Commune or Town Council to share with the government "the responsibility under which it was bending." Soon a mob of Belleville National Guards, led by the socialist Flourens, burst into the Council Chamber, and for hours threatened the ministers with death. At last they were driven out by an orderly regiment of National Guards; and a plebiscite of all the men of Paris showed 557,000 votes for, and only 62,000 against, the ministry.

At last the failure of all the sorties, the miseries of the siege in that gloomy bitter winter weather, and the bombardment (January 6-28) exhausted the endurance of Paris. The south-west side of Paris was much injured by the German shells. For four months the capital had been cut off from all communication with the outer world save by carrier-pigeon and balloon. There was no gas, owing to scarcity of fuel; and the Parisians were soon reduced to horse-flesh, dogs, cats, and rats, as their only animal food. By the middle of January 1871 fat rats fetched one and a half francs apiece.

On January 21 Trochu, yielding to the outcry against him for his half-hearted sorties, resigned the office of Governor of Paris, which was abolished; but he remained president of the government, while Vinoy was made commander-in-chief. The mob saw in this a trick for

surrendering Paris, for the late governor had said that he would never surrender. A crowd of National Guards on the 22d January again threatened the government, but was scattered by the orderly Mobiles. These excesses of hungry and desperate men decided Favre to go secretly to Versailles, where he had to consent to the following severe terms :—

(1) An armistice of three weeks (except in the three eastern departments, where Bourbaki's force was being entrapped) ; (2) The fifteen great and ten smaller forts round Paris to be occupied by the Germans ; (3) Paris to be reprovisioned at once and pay a war contribution of 200 million francs on its own account ; (4) A National Assembly to be elected to accept or refuse the terms of peace ; (5) The defending forces to be prisoners of war remaining in Paris, but all giving up their arms, except 12,000 regulars and all the National Guards. This last exception gained by Favre from Bismarck left arms in the hands of the disorderly elements in Paris.

Gambetta, still wishing to resist in spite of Bourbaki's disaster, resigned his office in the Government of National Defence, which soon handed over its powers to the legally constituted Assembly.

The National Assembly.—The elections of February 1871 sent to Bordeaux a majority of deputies desirous of peace. Grévy, an able and consistent republican, was elected President of the Assembly, which at first did not concern itself with drawing up a constitution. In fact, the monarchists and Bonapartists formed the majority, in which Thiers, the Duc de Broglie, and Rouher were the best known.

Dufaure, the eminent lawyer, soon to be Minister of Justice, with Casimir Périer and Picard the financiers, sat among the Left Centre or moderate republicans ; while

Favre, Gambetta, Victor Hugo, Rochefort the journalist, and Louis Blanc the revolutionist, sat on the Left and Extreme Left.

The genius, practical sense, and diplomatic ability of Thiers singled him out as the only man who could now save France. He was elected Chief of the Executive Power, which was at once recognised by England and the other great States.

He and Favre conducted the negotiations with Bismarck at Versailles, and succeeded in gaining back the first-class fortress of Belfort for France; but in return they had to submit to the occupation of the part of Paris south-west of the Seine by 30,000 German troops for three days (March 1-3). The veteran statesman was overpowered by his emotion when he announced this and the other terms of peace to the Assembly at Bordeaux, for it was he who long years ago had proclaimed that the Alps, Pyrenees, Ocean, and the Rhine, were the natural boundaries of France; and now he had to advise the acceptance of terms which pushed back the French frontier to where it was before 1552. In a tumult of passion the Assembly voted the deposition of the Bonaparte dynasty; then by a majority of five to one it accepted the German terms (March 1). These were embodied in the Treaty of Frankfurt[1] (May 10), which was ratified by the National Assembly, now removed to Versailles.

The loss of all Alsace (except Belfort) and of the third part of Lorraine severed from France one and a half million inhabitants who, in spite of their German language and descent, had long been devoted to France. The comparative ease with which the war indemnity of £200,000,000 was paid off astonished Europe. It

[1] See p. 314.

showed the vast wealth which France possessed in her fertile soil, tilled by millions of hard-working peasant-proprietors. The financial skill and energy of Thiers and his colleagues, aided by the patriotism of all Frenchmen, raised loan after loan; and by the autumn of 1873 the five milliards were paid off, and the last German troops left French soil. Thiers' efforts gained him the title of "Liberator of the territory." This success, too, he had gained in spite of a frightful revolt in Paris.

The Commune.—After the Revolutions of 1789 and 1848, the "reds" of Paris had been repressed after terrible struggles, and now in 1871 it was so again. Paris had sent to the National Assembly radical deputies like Victor Hugo; Gambetta, Lockroy, Floquet, Louis Blanc, Garibaldi (who, as an Italian, was not allowed to sit in the Assembly), Rochefort, Delescluze, and Felix Pyat. The departments, however, sent a large majority of reactionaries, nicknamed "rurals" by the Paris "reds," who soon defied the Assembly. On February 27 the men of Belleville and Montmartre plundered the powder magazines; and a central committee of the National Guards ordered cannon to be captured and dragged up the heights of Montmartre under the pretence of guarding them from the Prussians, who were in the southern quarters of Paris. Finally, over 300 cannons were planted on these heights to threaten Paris. On the 18th March the revolt burst forth. The regulars sent by General Vinoy to occupy Montmartre fraternised with the communists, and soon Paris was lost to the government, which withdrew its officials and faithful troops to Versailles. The generals Lecomte and Thomas, who fell into the communists' hands, were at once shot. All the war material of Paris, and all the southern and western forts, except Mont Valérien, were gained by the rebels.

A demonstration of the "friends of order" in Paris was dispersed by a volley from the "red" National Guards, and henceforth there was almost a reign of terror.

On March 26 the central committee of the National Guards held elections for the election of a municipal government or "*Commune.*" Their candidates were all elected by the insignificant total of 120,000 votes from all Paris.

Under the scheme of having a free Commune or municipality in every town or district of France, the Paris communists or federalists enforced the most extreme doctrines. Religion, the institution of marriage, the rights of family and of property, were all to be swept away, and the central government, or "despotism," as they called it, was to give way to local and federal institutions. The Commune was also proclaimed at Lyons, Marseilles, and St. Étienne, but was speedily put down there. It was only in the capital that this socialistic federalism made a serious fight, for there it had arms, soldiers, and money in abundance. It paid its soldiers one and a half francs a day with the money pillaged from banks and railway companies, and it abolished all rent for three-quarters of a year. Before it had come to the end of its course, it pulled down the Vendôme Column, suppressed all newspapers, even Rochefort's revolutionary print, which criticised its acts, turned the churches into clubs or barracks, arrested many of the higher clergy and officials as hostages, and compelled all men under forty years of age to remain in Paris and bear arms.

The government at Versailles had to wait for the French prisoners to come back from Germany, and formed them into an army under Marshal MacMahon. He could attack the communists only on the west and south of Paris, for the Germans still occupied the northern and eastern forts. Soon the regular troops and artillery silenced the southern

forts, repelled every sortie, and forced an entrance near the gate leading to St. Cloud (May 21, 1871). The maddened communists for seven days more fought on desperately from barricade to barricade; and by formal decrees the "central committee" ordered the public buildings of Paris to be set on fire, and the clerical "hostages" to be shot. The Archbishop of Paris and nearly seventy other priests and officials were shot in a street of Belleville. All Paris was ablaze for days and nights with flames kindled by male and female miscreants, who fed them with petroleum. Parts of the Tuileries, the Louvre library, the Hôtel de Ville, and Palais Royal were burnt down, beside many public buildings, churches, theatres, banks, warehouses, and railway stations. At last the regular troops, after storming barricades and shooting down opponents, cooped up the last of them in the Père la Chaise cemetery, and there made an end of the most senseless and desperate revolt of this century. Hundreds of the communist chiefs and officers were afterwards shot, and thousands of the rest transported to New Caledonia.

Just as wind acting against tide will for a time trouble the surface, but leave the deep under-current unmoved, so too in France the gusts of revolutionary passion in 1830, 1848, and 1871 have been powerless to stir up the mass of the rural population, however much they may have excited the floating population of the large towns. It is the contest between the small but noisy party in the great towns and the large but usually passive class of peasant proprietors which has led to spasmodic risings, quickly followed by powerful reactions. Since 1871 the increasing intelligence and political power of the "rurals" have hitherto acted as effective ballast to restrain the vagaries of the "reds" in the towns.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE THIRD REPUBLIC (*continued*).

Thiers' Presidency.—Thiers, though seventy-four years of age, kept erect through these varied disasters, which would have crushed most younger men. He had chosen on February 18 a ministry of moderate republicans like Dufaure (Justice), Favre (Foreign Affairs), Picard (Interior), and Jules Simon (Education), which now set about reorganising the army, finances, and executive power. Thiers' difficulties with the National Assembly were great. His own sympathies had been for a monarchy, and two-thirds of the National Assembly at Versailles were opposed to a republic. Thiers, however, found that the whole course of events required a conservative republic; and when the monarchists reproached him with violating the "Compact of Bordeaux," which placed him at the head of a republic as a merely provisional form of government, he retorted angrily—"I found the republic already made. A monarchy is impossible, since there are three dynasties for a single throne." Against the advanced republicans he said, "The Republic will be conservative, or it will not live;" for he knew that the *bourgeoisie* and also the peasants, terrified by the Commune, would not allow the laws of property to be tampered with. So he held on, overawing the discordant factions by his force of will and by occasional threats of resignation.

The Assembly caused a municipal council to be elected

for Paris. It also increased the taxes and import dues, so as to meet the enormous expenditure caused by the war and by the reorganisation of the French army after the Prussian system.

The Mobile and National Guards were now disbanded, and military service in the regular army for five years was made compulsory for every Frenchman under forty years of age. At a critical time in these debates Thiers said, "Vote the five years, or I will leave you to yourselves," and the law was passed (July 1872). By 1875 the French army was half as large again as it was in 1870.

On every question except the army the Assembly seemed hopelessly divided. In May 1873 Thiers reconstructed his Cabinet mainly from the Left Centre or moderate republicans. Thereupon the monarchists, or Right, combined to overthrow Thiers, when they found that he meant to consolidate the Republic. Thiers at once resigned his office of President, and MacMahon was immediately appointed his successor (May 24, 1873).

MacMahon's Presidency.—MacMahon appointed the liberal monarchist the Duc de Broglie as his Vice-President of the Council of Ministers (or Premier in our phrase). Even this Orleanist ministry did not openly attempt to restore the Comte de Paris, but contented itself with a law appointing reactionary officials and mayors, and encouraging the Roman Catholic pilgrimages to the signs and miracles at Paray-le-Monial and Lourdes.

The Legitimists and Orleanists (1873).—The Comte de Chambord, an upright but bigoted man of fifty-three years of age, prided himself on preserving intact in his solitary exile near Vienna the ideas of his grandfather Charles X. In his manifesto of July 1871 he preached the duty of France to submit to himself, her lawful king, Henri

V. The able and courageous Monseigneur Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, strove earnestly to bring a fusion between this obstinate adherent to the old monarchy and the Orleanist prince, the Comte de Paris. The latter was at this time a vigorous soldierly man of thirty-five, who had served in the army of the North in the American civil war, and had taken an enlightened interest in English social and economic questions during his long residence in England (1862-1870). He and his uncle, the Duc d'Aumale, returned to Paris when the laws against the Orleanist princes were repealed in 1871, and in 1873 he offered to waive his claims to the French throne if the Comte de Chambord would accept a Liberal monarchical programme and the tricolour as its sign and pledge; but at the last moment, when all seemed settled, the count refused to become the "King of the Revolution" and to accept its flag (October 30, 1873).

The Septennate.—So the monarchist parties fell asunder; and as the Bonapartists had been also disconcerted by the death of Napoleon III in January 1873, all three parties joined to prolong the era of unsettled government by voting that Marshal MacMahon should be President of the Republic for seven years. The legitimist deputies even coalesced with the republican opposition to overthrow the Duc de Broglie's Orleanist ministry.

The French Constitution.—It has been often said that the Republic was founded by its enemies; and certainly the intrigues and discords of the monarchist majority in the National Assembly convinced France that a legitimist, Orleanist, or Bonapartist restoration was impracticable. In July 1874 Casimir Périer (son of the statesman of 1831) carried a general motion for the organisation of the Republic; and in February 1875, after long and heated

debates, the framework of the French constitution was constructed. With later modifications, made in 1879 and 1884, it now consists of two elective Chambers, and a President as head of the Republic.

The President is elected for seven years by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies in a joint sitting at Versailles. Any French citizen is eligible except a member of the families which have reigned in France. The President represents the State in its relations with foreign Powers. He can invite the Chambers to reconsider a law, but cannot refuse his consent to it. In accordance with the votes of the Chambers he may dismiss a ministry, and appoint a member to form a new one; but his orders are not valid unless signed by his ministers, who thus are responsible for them.

There are Cabinet ministers for Justice, Foreign Affairs, Interior, Finance, War, Navy, Colonies, Education, Fine Arts and Public Worship, Agriculture, Public Works and Trade. Each one is responsible to the Chambers for the acts of his own department, and for the general policy of the government. The administrative power is far more concentrated than it is in England, and the lower officials are only responsible to their superiors, by whom alone they can be prosecuted.

The Parliament consists of two Chambers, the first of which is chosen by indirect suffrage. The Senate consists of 300 members, elected for nine years, a third of them being renewed every third year. The senators are elected by an electoral council in each department, which consists of departmental officials and delegates of the local communes; so the Senate has been called the "Grand Council of the Communes of France."

The Chamber of Deputies consists of 584 members,

elected by universal suffrage according to the plan known as "scrutin de liste"—*i.e.* each citizen may vote for as many names on the list as the department has candidates; and it is believed that deputies elected on this system will think less of their local ties than of the good of the State. The alternative plan which previously prevailed was that of "scrutin d'arrondissement," where one candidate only can be elected for each "arrondissement" or division of a department.[1] Each senator or deputy receives 9000 francs (£360) a year for his services.

The National Assembly, after finishing its labours, was dissolved (December 1875). The elections of February 1876 sent up a strong republican majority, which led to the formation of the Dufaure ministry of a moderate republican type. The opposition between the Chambers and President MacMahon became keener and keener, till at last he was forced to resign (1879). Free untrammelled government began under the presidency of Jules Grévy.

The great man whose advice had guided France from the disasters of 1871 to comparative calm and prosperity lived to see the new constitution at work. After eighty years of life, commensurate almost with that of New France, Adolphe Thiers died, firmly upholding to the end the cause of the Conservative Republic. The other great man who breathed new life into France amidst her troubles, Léon Gambetta, had for a short time headed a ministry; but after his defeat and resignation on the question of "scrutin de liste," he was cut off by a sudden and violent death (December 31, 1882). His funeral was as imposing as that of Mirabeau, the great Tribune of the First French Revolution, whom he resembled in his impetuosity and masterful power.

[1] This system has again been adopted, 1889.

After the decease of these two men for some time there appeared no statesman in France who could form a stable government.

In the nineteen years after the fall of the Empire twenty-four ministries were made and unmade.[1] Most of them have been constructed from the Left or Left Centre, and have generally been overthrown by coalitions of the Extreme Left or radicals with the Right or monarchical and imperialist parties; but as these have not been able to form a united ministry, the new Cabinet has generally been reconstructed out of the minority. The republican party has sought to strengthen itself by suppressing all convents in France, and expelling their inmates, as well as by discountenancing religious teaching in the State schools (1880). In the same year it passed an Act of Amnesty allowing the exiled revolutionists to come back from New Caledonia and Cayenne.

In 1879 the Republic was freed from Bonapartist intrigues for a time by the death of Prince Louis Napoleon in Zululand; but Prince Napoleon-Joseph, of the Jerome branch (nicknamed Plon-Plon), and his sons Victor and Louis, became the heirs to the "Napoleonic idea." The republicans in 1886 exiled the Comte de Paris, but it is

[1] 1870 Favre.
1871 Dufaure (1).
1873 De Broglie (1).
1874 De Cissey.
1875 Buffet.
1876 Dufaure (2).
1876 Simon.
1877 De Broglie (2).
1877 De Rochebouet.
1877 Dufaure (3).
1879 Waddington.
1879 De Freycinet (1).
1880 Ferry (1).
1881 Gambetta.
1882 De Freycinet (2).
1882 Duclerc.
1883 Fallières.
1883 Ferry (2).
1885 Brisson.
1886 De Freycinet (3).
1886 Goblet.
1887 Rouvier.
1887 Tirard.
1888 Floquet.

probable that they reaped little benefit by that act and by their persecuting clerical policy.

The defenceless condition of the eastern frontier has been remedied by the construction of a long chain of forts from the Belgian frontier nearly to Belfort and a great entrenched camp at Rheims.

Foreign Policy.—This was in pursuance of the national desire to be the equal of Germany, and to slowly prepare for a war of revenge. Meanwhile the Republic sought to gain prestige by extending its possessions in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific.

In Egypt, France and England both had important interests at stake; and when Ismail Pacha, Khedive of Egypt, had drawn his State almost into bankruptcy by his extravagance, two representatives of the English and French bondholders were sent to control his finances. Soon Ismail was deposed by the Porte, to make way for his son Tewfik; and the bondholders' representatives, at the wish of France, were recognised by England and France. Thus originated the Dual Control; but when the military or quasi-national movement of Arabi Pacha burst forth, France, occupied in Tunis, would not join in the expedition to suppress it. After its suppression (1882) the British Government abolished the Dual Control, but France strove to regain the position which she had resigned by her own inaction.

In Tunis French policy had been more decisive. Acting, it is believed, on an understanding arrived at at the Berlin Congress (1878), France made use of slight disturbances by the Kroumirs to invade Tunis. The French occupied Bizerta (May 1881), and on arriving before Tunis compelled the Bey of Tunis, a tributary of the Turkish power, to sign a treaty acknowledging the

French protectorate. They had to bombard and storm the port of Sfax, and to make a long march to the sacred city of Kairouan, to bring the whole territory under their power. This protectorate, which is virtually actual possession, greatly enraged Italy, who regarded herself as the heir to that part of the Ottoman empire.

France also furbished up some musty claims to a protectorate over the island of Madagascar, bombarded Tamatave, imprisoned an English missionary, Mr. Shaw, and at last compelled the Queen of Madagascar to consent to a shadowy protectorate.

In Indo-China the French had long laboured to found a great colony. In 1867 the kingdom of Annam, tributary to China, was compelled by the French to cede Cochin China at the mouth of the Mekon river; and now again (1883-1885) France renewed her efforts against Annam. Her troops suffered heavily before Langson, and were involved in a troublesome war with China; but they occupied Kelung in Formosa, while her fleet routed the Chinese ships and bombarded the river forts. At last in April 1885 peace was made, France keeping Annam and Tonquin. (Continued in Chapter XLIII.)

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE RISE OF PRUSSIA.

The Erfurt Parliament.—The collapse of the "united German" movement in 1849 and the difficulties of Austria left Prussia free to form plans for her own supremacy in Germany; and soon Frederick William IV formed with the Kings of Saxony and Hanover a "Tri-regal alliance," which was joined by many of the smaller North German States; but this so-called "German Union" fell to pieces when it was proposed to elect a German Parliament to meet at Erfurt; for Hanover, Saxony, Würtemberg, and Bavaria, at the instigation of Austria, formed a new group of States opposed to Prussian supremacy. This new combination, and the narrow-mindedness of the Prussian Junker party, soon broke up the Erfurt Parliament. Austria, now again (September 1850) strong enough to resume her old position in German politics, revived the old German Confederation, in which she had always held the first place; at first Prussia refused to take her old place in it, but held fast to the "restricted union" at Erfurt. Austria, however, cleverly regained her old position in Germany, and soon inflicted a further rebuff on the timid Manteuffel ministry at Berlin.

Hesse.—The despotic Elector of Hesse Cassel had already nullified the constitution wrung from him in 1848:

and on his further attempt in 1850 to levy taxes without the consent of the Chambers, he had to flee before a rising of the people of Cassel. He invoked the aid of the Frankfurt Diet; and an Austro-Bavarian force was marching in to restore him, when Prussian troops occupied Fulda and Cassel. Civil war for the supremacy of Austria or Prussia in German affairs was only averted by the mediation of the powerful Czar Nicholas on the Austrian side. The Prussian king finally withdrew his troops from Hesse, but had to submit to further humiliation in the convention of Olmütz (November 29, 1850).

Olmütz.—These terms were that Prussia should abandon her "German union schemes" and should again take her place in the German Confederation as established in 1815 under the presidency of Austria; and that the disputes in Hesse and Schleswig-Holstein should be settled by this Frankfurt Diet, which met September 2, 1850. So Hesse Cassel was again subjected to its duke, and Schleswig-Holstein to the Danes.[1] Thus Prussia tamely yielded the first place to a Power which in 1849 seemed to have lost all influence in German affairs. Austrian arrogance showed itself in an attempt to gain control over the new fleet of the Confederation, in favouring the overthrow of the constitutions granted in 1848 in many of the smaller German States, and by attempting to force her way into the Zollverein (Customs Union) or break it up. After wearisome disputes Prussia held her ground against this last attempted encroachment; and in 1853 the old Zollverein was reconstructed for twelve years. The death of the Austrian Chancellor, Schwarzenberg, in April 1852, was a blow to that Empire. His bold and skilful policy had speedily restored the prestige of his country.

[1] See p. 291.

The slight opinion of the Prussian king may be seen in a letter of our Prince Consort written in 1854: "The King of Prussia is a reed shaken by the wind"; but he finally kept a policy of neutrality favourable to Russia during the Crimean War. Friendly neutrality towards Russia during her difficulties in 1855, 1863, and 1877, and support of her claims in 1870, has been repaid by Russian neutrality during Prussia's struggles of 1866 and 1870.

Regency of Prince William.—Between 1855 and 1857 changes in a reactionary direction were made in the Prussian constitution. Disturbances in Neufchâtel led to the defeat and imprisonment of the Prussian or royalist party; and eventually Frederick William IV renounced his feudal and sovereign rights over that distant fief. This and the varied disappointments of his reign preyed on his gifted but sensitive mind, which in October 1857 gave way. So his brother Prince William was appointed to a regency for three months. This was renewed from time to time, and in 1858, after his son's marriage with our Princess Victoria, he assumed the regency indefinitely. He took the oath to the constitution, and soon dismissed the timid Manteuffel ministry which had led to the Olmütz convention. A new ministry under Prince Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen at once began to strengthen the Prussian army and navy.

The new regent, who was one day to crown the edifice of German unity, had once been the most unpopular man in Prussia, owing to his strong aversion to constitutional rule. It was his palace and the adjoining arsenal which had been sacked by the Berlin mob in 1848, and it was he who, at the head of the Prussian troops, had crushed the last rising of the Baden democrats in 1849. Yet his mind was so open to argument, and withal so sturdy and

penetrating, that he lived to become a constitutional sovereign and the idol of the entire German nation. In 1855 the king's government had bullied the electors into sending reactionary representatives; under the regency in 1859 government intimidation was forbidden, and the people sent up more progressive members. This at once encouraged the Liberals in all the other German States.

The Smaller German States.—Austria's influence and popularity were still uppermost in the southern States. King Maximilian II kept Bavaria in peace and quietness, save for religious disputes which agitated all the south. Würtemberg and Baden also enjoyed better governments than most other German States; but in Hesse the obstinate despotism of the Grand Duke was broken by the patient persistence of his people in 1862, when constitutional rule was partly restored.

The "middle kingdoms," Saxony and Hanover, resisted Prussian influence—the former under the skilful lead of Count Beust, the latter under the obstinate, blind old king, George V.

In the north the duchy of Mecklenburg was almost as badly governed as Hesse Cassel itself.

King William I.—The death of Frederick William IV, worn out in mind and body, brought the regent to the throne (January 2, 1861). In October 1861 the new king (already sixty-four years old) at his own coronation showed his staunch adherence to the old monarchical principles of the house of Hohenzollern. He placed the crown on his own head, thus signifying that he received it only from God; and he always insisted that he was king by the grace of God and not of his people alone.

The political state of Europe was favourable to a revival of Prussia's prestige, so shaken at Olmütz. Russia was ex-

hausted by the Crimean war, and was soon to be occupied by the Polish rising of 1863; Austria, beaten by France and Sardinia, could not now browbeat her northern neighbour as Schwarzenberg had done at Olmütz. King William I. was made of different stuff from his brother. He had the gift of seeing genius and of setting men in their right spheres of work. Thus in order to raise Prussia's power he nearly doubled the number of infantry regiments and increased the cavalry by ten regiments; and to organise this vast force he chose General von Roon, who is famed as the greatest army organiser since the first Napoleon. The Prussian Chamber acquiesced in this increase during the Austro-Italian war, but refused the subsidies when peace was again restored. In 1862 the king bethought him of his Prussian ambassador at Paris, Otto von Bismarck-Schönhausen.

Bismarck.—This remarkable man was born on April 1, 1815, at Schönhausen, about seventy miles west of Berlin. He came of a knightly family which had farmed its land there for generations, and had produced many fighting men. He himself was early known for his mad escapades, and then for his furious Junker speeches in the first Prussian Parliament. Thus he had flung out the words, "Let all questions to the king's ministers be answered by a roll of drums," and he sneered at the ballot-box as a mere dice-box. His ardent royalism made him defend his sovereign's surrender at Olmütz; but he determined soon, when he was sent as Prussia's representative to the resuscitated Frankfurt Diet, to prepare the way for Prussia's supremacy in Germany. His power, tact, and ability procured for him the post of Prussian ambassador, first at St. Petersburg (1859) and then at Paris (1862); but he had been there only just long enough to take the measure

of the Emperor and his ministers when a telegram recalled him in haste to Berlin, to "tame" the Prussian Parliament. He was made President of the Ministry; for in Prussia the king's ministers are appointed by him, and need not be taken from the members of the Parliament. In fact, the constitution of 1850 left the king and the two Houses of Parliament with equal powers. So, when the Lower Chamber would not provide the war budget which the king and his ministers declared to be necessary, the latter ruled for four years without one. "It is not by speechifying and majorities that the great questions of the time will have to be decided—that was the mistake in 1848 and 1849—but by *blood and iron.*" Such were Bismarck's terrible words, which enraged the Prussian liberals and alarmed the neighbouring Powers. The king dissolved the Chambers and restricted the liberty of the press, so that even the Crown Prince Frederick protested publicly against so extreme a policy. The inflexible minister also braved the threats of France, Austria, and England, by aiding Russia in 1863 to put down the Polish insurrection; for the Prussian Government feared to see the revolt spread to its Polish province of Posen, which was and still is discontented.

Schleswig-Holstein.—War seemed likely to break out between Austria and Prussia as to their position in Germany, when the news came that the King of Denmark had died (November 1863); and his death reopened the whole of the distracting Schleswig-Holstein question. The duchies of Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburg belonged to the Danish crown, but Holstein was a member of the German Confederation. Its population was entirely German; that of Schleswig about half German. This complicated position somewhat resembled that of Luxemburg and Hanover; but

all the people of Holstein and most of those of Schleswig maintained that by an old treaty the two duchies must not be separated, and that when the male line of Denmark died out, the duchies must both fall to Germany. The death of the Danish king Christian VIII in 1848 had brought matters to a crisis; the Germans in the duchies and the troops of Prussia and of the Confederation beat the Danes, but the latter were upheld by the other Powers; and in 1852 the Treaty of London guaranteed to the next king, Frederick VII of Denmark, the possession of the duchies, and after his death, and in default of male heirs, to Prince Christian of Sonderburg-Glücksburg. But neither the German Diet nor the duchies themselves recognised this treaty as binding. Soon the Danish king sought, in defiance of this treaty, to bind the duchies more closely to Denmark, and shortly before his death the Danish Parliament declared Schleswig incorporated with Denmark. His successor, Christian IX, yielding to the demands of the Copenhagen populace, ratified that act. At once the hereditary Prince Frederick of Augustenburg claimed to have the duchies, as these had not recognised the Treaty of London; and most of the Schleswig-Holsteiners and all Germans applauded his claim, so that the German Confederation sent troops into Holstein to protect German interests. Meanwhile Bismarck with artful diplomacy had persuaded Austria to join Prussia in occupying Schleswig-Holstein, which the Confederation had foolishly refused to do.

Soon 20,000 Austrians and 25,000 Prussians crossed the Eider. The Danes evacuated their first line of defence, but made a brave stand against the Prussians in the fortified peninsula of Düppel. The ill-timed but well-meant sympathy of the British people had only drawn the Danes on to resistance, which they hoped England would

support; but the English Government gave only good advice, and Prussia had secured French neutrality by a favourable commercial treaty, and by Bismarck's clever diplomacy.

A conference of the Powers at London, May 1864, produced no result. Bismarck was inflexible, and the Danes persisted in unreal hopes; but when the Prussians captured the island of Alsen the Danish king gave way, and on October 30, 1864, in the Treaty of Vienna, surrendered the duchies to the rulers of Austria and Prussia.

Thus skilfully had Bismarck used Austria to help Prussia draw the chestnuts out of the fire. He now with equal boldness requested the troops of the Germanic Confederation to leave Holstein. A quarrel about the division of the duchies was now imminent between the two victors; but it was for the time patched up by the Gastein Convention (August 1865), by which Holstein was to be administered by Austria, Schleswig by Prussia, until the question of inheritance should be settled. Lauenburg was to go entirely to Prussia for a money payment. Austria, however, supported the hereditary Prince of Augustenburg's claim to the two duchies, which was opposed by Prussia, unless he would make himself almost a vassal prince to Berlin.

In fact, Bismarck (now raised to the rank of count) wished to force on soon the inevitable struggle with Austria for supremacy in Germany. The Prussian army was splendidly organised and armed with a new rifle, quick-firing for those days, called the "needle-gun." France was engaged in Mexico, and Napoleon III, still anxious to see Venetia freed from the Austrian yoke, was won over to neutrality by Count von Bismarck in secret interviews at Biarritz. Prussia thereupon concluded a secret offensive and defensive alliance with Italy, with

well-understood conditions as to territorial changes at the peace. The Prussian Chambers, however, still refused money supplies for the army; but the Prussian Government, having defied the German Diet and the population of the two duchies by ignoring the strong claims of the Duke of Augustenburg, was not now likely to give way before its own Parliament. King William of Prussia had still so many scruples as to drawing the sword on Austria that Bismarck said he had to go to him every day to "wind him up like a clock"; for most of the Prussian court and nation longed for peace. When, however, Austria at last proposed to refer the rule of the duchies to the Frankfurt Diet, well known to be hostile to Prussia, the latter Power ordered General Manteuffel to occupy Holstein, from which the Austrian troops quickly withdrew.

The Austro-Prussian War.—On June 14, 1866, the German Confederation decided to mobilise its forces for war against Prussia; and Austria had long been massing her troops on her mountainous Bohemian frontier, though three-tenths of her available forces were needed in Venetia to fight the Italians, who declared war at the same time. The Prussian Government, opposed by its own Parliament and by a majority of its own people, seemed at great odds amidst a ring of foes, including Hanover, the two Hesses, the South German States, and Saxony, as well as the vast Austrian Empire, which alone then numbered more than 38,000,000 of people, or double those which Prussia then possessed. But though the Prussian people were enraged at their own overbearing government, they were yet all patriotically devoted to their country; whereas in the motley dominions of Francis Joseph the Venetians were actively hostile, and the Hungarians and Slavs passively hostile, to the central government at Vienna. Moreover, their govern-

ment had in 1851 withdrawn the much-vaunted constitution of 1849, and had only slightly modified the old helpless bureaucracy; and, worst of all, Francis Joseph, with his Aulic Council at Vienna, often interfered with his generals in Bohemia.

The vigour of the Prussian organiser, von Roon, and the strategist, von Moltke, was soon shown. In two days after the rulers of Hesse, Saxony, and Hanover had refused the Prussian summons for their neutrality, their capitals were in the hands of Prussian troops, and the tyrant of Cassel was soon on his way as a captive to Stettin. The Saxon troops hurried off south to join the Austrians in Bohemia, the Hessians to join the South German corps, and the Hanoverians soon marched off south-east towards Gotha to join the Bavarians. The Hanoverians beat off the attack on June 27 of half their number of Prussians, detached from General von Falckenstein's army, at Langensalza, north of Gotha; but two days later they were surrounded by 40,000 Prussian and Coburg troops and capitulated. The blind King George V was permitted to depart to Vienna. General von Falckenstein followed up this success by driving the two badly led South German armies before him, and entered Frankfurt July 16; but the main issue had already been decided in Bohemia.

Events soon made it clear that Prussia had the best strategist in Europe to direct her armies. On the left the Prussian Crown Prince Frederick held 116,000 men on the Silesian frontier, in the centre 100,000 men were led by the king's nephew, Prince Frederick Charles (the Red Prince), and on the Elbe 40,000 men, by General Herwarth. Four days after the declaration of war all Saxony, except one small fortress, was overrun by these hosts, which then began to press through the mountain

passes against the 230,000 Austrians and 23,000 Saxons under the command of Count Benedek. His forces were spread out from Cracow to the Elbe defile in the Erz Gebirge, but were inferior in weapons, for the Prussian needle-gun fired six times as fast as the Austrian rifle. Besides, the Austrian soldiers had only served for one year in the ranks.

Königgrätz (Sadowa).—Moltke's plan was for the Prussian armies to march separately, but to unite to strike the decisive blow. The Prussian Crown Prince, after feigning to invade Austrian Silesia, struck through the defiles of the Riesen Gebirge, and overthrew the Austrians at Nachod (June 27), and on the 29th approached near to the two other Prussian armies, which had driven back the Austrians at Münchengrätz-Gitschin. Benedek's forces had not been concentrated in time to prevent this junction of his foes, but he now chose a strong defensive position on a huge amphitheatre of wooded hills near Sadowa and the fortress of Königgrätz. Fortified villages and barricades of trees gave the Austrians at first an enormous superiority over the Prussian attacks, which up till noon were repulsed with great slaughter; but the Crown Prince, distant some five leagues away on the Prussian extreme left, came up and took the Austrians on their right flank. The Austrian centre, weakened to resist the new attack, was at once seized by Prussian Guards under General Hiller, who stormed the heights of Chlum, the key of the Austrian position. The defeated army, hurled down the other sides of the hills, suffered terribly in its flight over the river Elbe, and then over the plain to the shelter of Königgrätz. The Austrians lost in this tremendous struggle 18,000 killed and wounded, 20,000 prisoners, and 174 cannons. The Prussian losses were over 8000 (July 3, 1866).

The Vienna papers of July 4 truly said, "Our northern army no longer exists." Its shattered remains abandoned Bohemia, and halted under the walls of the fortress of Olmütz in Moravia. After this unexampled "eight days' campaign" (June 26 to July 3), the Prussians pressed on towards Vienna.

Cession of Venetia.—The Austrians had defeated the Italians at Custozza (June 24); but Francis Joseph, two days after the disaster in Bohemia, hurriedly offered to cede Venetia to the Emperor Napoleon, and through him to the Italians (as had also been done with Lombardy in 1859), in order to preserve Austrian supremacy in Germany through the mediation of France. Napoleon had hoped that the two central Powers would wear each other out, and his ministers longed to gain the Rhine boundary from a helpless Germany. They now claimed this from Prussia in the hour of her triumph, but met with an indignant refusal. France would have declared war had she not been so involved in Mexico as to be unable then to face the Prussian forces armed with the needle-gun breech-loader. Still, Napoleon hoped that Austria's truce with Italy would free some 100,000 of her soldiers for the defence of Vienna, and so prolong the war; but the Prussian troops advanced on that capital so rapidly that on July 26 the preliminaries of peace were signed at Nikolsburg, close to Vienna, and were embodied in the important Treaty of Prague (August 23).

Treaty of Prague.—Austria was excluded from German affairs, and the old German Confederation (of 1815) was dissolved. Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, the whole of Hesse Cassel, along with Nassau and the rich free city of Frankfurt were annexed to Prussia, which thus gained nearly 5,000,000 subjects. These soon became reconciled to her vigorous

but able rule; and her realm, no longer cut in two parts by Hanover, now numbered 23,590,000 souls.

The aged Prussian king desired further annexations of territory, but was dissuaded by his prudent minister, who showed the impolicy of making Austria a permanent enemy to Prussia while she still had to deal with France. So Austria, though excluded from Germany, gave up no territory to Prussia, but only paid a small indemnity[1] for this "eight days' war." Prussia also made separate treaties with the German States which she left independent. The Prussian Government was moved from its determination to annex Saxony by the urgent representations of the two emperors at the instance of the Saxon minister Count Beust. Nevertheless, Saxony had to enter the new North German Confederation and pay an indemnity. The South German States appealed to Napoleon for a remission of the hard terms first proposed by Bismarck, and finally they all had to pay small war indemnities, while Bavaria and Hesse Darmstadt gave up small patches of frontier land.

Prussia's greatest diplomatic success was a secret understanding with the South German States, which was revealed to the astonished Napoleon when the Luxemburg affair threatened war (March 1867). By this convention all the South German States concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Prussia, and, in case of war, placed their troops under the supreme command of the King of Prussia.

Finally, the victorious king and minister asked for and obtained a bill of indemnity from the Prussian Parliament for their unconstitutional military expenditure during the last four years—an expenditure which it was now seen had saved Prussia in spite of her Parliament.

[1] 40,000,000 thalers. Saxony also had to hand over her post and telegraph system to Prussia.

The North German Confederation.—The new Confederation comprised the whole of Prussia, Saxony, the grand duchies of Oldenburg, the two Mecklenburgs, Brunswick, and the part of Hesse Darmstadt north of the Main, together with the small Thuringian States and the free cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck. A federal Parliament (Reichstag) and Council, elected by universal suffrage, were to meet at Berlin to make laws and ratify treaties for these States, which, however, retained their local laws and administrations. The federal forces were to be reorganised on the model of the Prussian army. A powerful political party, the National Liberals, was formed with the avowed object of aiding Bismarck to promote the unity of Germany; but the opposition of Poles, Hanoverians, and Schleswig-Holsteiners through their deputies in the Reichstag still made it difficult for him to keep a majority favourable to the government. The ex-King George of Hanover, from his residence near Vienna, fomented intrigues and plots against the Prussian Government, which at last stopped the liberal pension that it had allotted to him.

From its far-reaching influence on the history of Germany, Austria, and Italy, Königgrätz must rank among the decisive battles of the world. Whatever may be the ultimate verdict of history as to the way in which Bismarck brought on the wars of 1864 and 1866, it cannot be denied that these countries all gained by their results. North Germany now formed a vigorous Confederation with Prussia as its backbone. Not the least of the changes was that the new State was founded on the democratic basis of universal suffrage, though much of the legislative and executive power lay with the King of Prussia.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE UNITY OF GERMANY.

NORTH GERMANY now formed a strong Confederation under the lead of Prussia; but South Germany (*i.e.* the States south of the Main) was united to it by no open bond except a Customs Parliament for the whole of the German Zollverein. The southern States sent deputies to this Parliament at Berlin, which, however, could only legislate on commercial questions; but the dread of a French invasion was always driving the South Germans into closer sympathy with their brethren north of the Main.

The Luxemburg dispute was hushed up, but every small difficulty between France and Prussia caused angry articles in the papers of Paris and Berlin. Thus when North Germany, desiring to encourage trade with Italy, voted subsidies to support the St. Gothard tunnel through the Swiss Alps, the French papers saw in it a scheme to divert traffic from their Mont Cenis route (May 1870). In fact, both nations felt war to be inevitable, but Napoleon declared war in a way which united all Germans as one man.

The Hohenzollern Candidature.—Marshal Prim, acting on behalf of the Spanish nation, offered the crown of Spain to Prince Leopold, of the Roman Catholic branch of the Hohenzollerns, and a distant relative of the King of

CAMPAIGNS 1859-71.

SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES
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London: Edward Stanford.

Prussia. His acceptance of it was known by the French Government on July 4, 1870, and the French Foreign Minister, the Duc de Gramont, inveighed against it as a scheme to revive the empire of Charles V under a Hohenzollern dynasty. Thereupon King William, as head of the Hohenzollern family, prevailed on his relative to withdraw in the interests of peace; but Benedetti, the French ambassador to Prussia, insisted that the king should give the "definite assurance that he would never give his consent should the candidature be renewed." This exacting demand, urged with persistence on two or three occasions at Ems, was refused by the king, who declined to see the ambassador again on the subject. France deemed herself insulted in the person of her ambassador, and war was declared at Paris on July 17, 1870.

Franco-German War.—At Mainz King William on August 2 took command of the *united* German armies; for the South Germans, on whom Napoleon counted, were now one in heart and soul with their northern brethren, and not merely bound by treaty engagements. Moltke hurled three great German armies, organised as armies never had been before, against the French frontier. General Steinmetz on the German right moved up the Moselle valley with 61,000; Prince Frederick Charles (the Red Prince) in the centre advanced from Mainz through the Palatinate, towards the Saar valley, with nearly 200,000 men; while the Prussian Crown Prince, at the head of 180,000 Prussian and South German troops, with whom he was very popular, moved up the left bank of the Rhine. Germany soon had in all 800,000 men under arms, for she needed an army in Silesia to keep Austria quiet, and forces on the north coast to keep off a French landing in Schleswig or in the Baltic; but the French fleet could effect nothing on the shallow coasts of

Prussia, which are her best protection from heavy ironclads. The neutrality of Heligoland also impeded the French.

Confusion and indecision were rampant in the French armies from the first. The Emperor hoped at one time to invade Bavaria, and with the aid of Austrian troops to cut Germany in half, but he could gather barely 150,000 men round Metz under Bazaine, 50,000 round Strassburg, while 40,000 remained in reserve at a camp near Chalons-sur-Marne; and Austria waited to see the turn of events before deciding for Napoleon. So the French incursion into South Germany went no farther than the occupation of Saarbrück after dislodging a small Prussian force (August 2). The Crown Prince was the first to break through the French line by crushing an inferior French force at Weissemburg (where battles were fought in 1793-94) and taking 1000 prisoners (August 4).

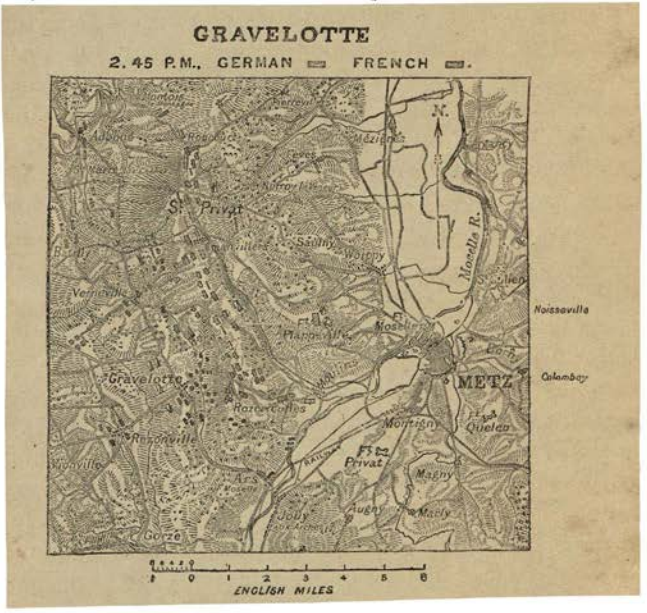
Wörth (August 6), **Spichern** (August 6).—MacMahon had taken a strong position on heights behind the village of Wörth, his flanks protected by woods and his front by slopes swept by his cannon. His inferior force long maintained a desperate fight against successive charges of parts of the great German army of some 120,000; but not receiving the support of General de Failly, who had been hurriedly sent from Bitsch, the French were at last forced into a retreat which became a helpless flight. In the battle they lost 6000 and the victors no less than 10,000 killed and wounded; but MacMahon had to flee through the Vosges Mountains, where he would otherwise have held the invaders at bay. On the same day Lorraine was thrown open to the successful invaders of the central German army. At Spichern, or Forbach as the French call the battle, General Frossard held a splendid position on heights which detachments of the German general Steinmetz attacked at

once in front, and, when reinforced, on both flanks. The French stoutly resisted, but not receiving the expected reinforcements, they finally retreated on Metz after inflicting more losses than they received. Lorraine was now thrown open to the invaders, and the central German army marched straight on Metz. The French defence had been shattered by two hammer-like blows. Alsace was lost at Wörth, for MacMahon, chased by the Crown Prince's superior forces, fell back on Nancy, then on the great camp at Chalons; and a small force only could be found ready to garrison Strassburg, which was soon invested by a South German corps under Werder. The Emperor, staggered by these disasters, still dreaded for political reasons to fall back on Chalons; he had sent the telegram to Paris, "Tout peut se rétablir." He resigned the supreme command to Bazaine, but remained with a large force at Metz, where he was nearly entrapped by the Germans.

The battles round Metz.—Moltke's aim was now to shut up as many French troops as possible in Metz, which was known to be poorly provisioned and to have its forts unfinished. So the Germans under von der Goltz attacked at Borny a superior French force retreating with all speed towards Metz (August 14). The attack, though beaten off, delayed the French around Metz. The Emperor and Bazaine, who was almost as undecided in his views as the Emperor himself, ought to have thrown a sufficient garrison into Metz, and then escaped with the rest of the army to Verdun and Chalons; but the German Uhlans and a division of infantry began to circle round Metz to hinder the French retreat to Verdun; and at Mars la Tour, or Vionville, these troops (August 16) pressed back the line of the retreating French. In one part of their desperate contest against superior foes six squadrons of German cavalry

charged dense masses of French horse and foot to check their movements till more Germans should come up. At the end of twelve hours' fighting, and after two more brilliant charges of the German cavalry, the French were edged back eastwards on Gravelotte, where the most deadly battle of the war was to be fought.

Gravelotte (August 18).—The French left, under Frossard, held a formidable defensive position on entrenched



heights, against which the impetuous General Steinmetz hurled masses of his men to almost certain death against the deadly chassepôts and mitrailleuses. Up to seven in the evening the Germans had been repulsed with awful slaughter, but as darkness came on their superior forces

overlapped and turned the French right at St. Privat, so compelling all the army to fall back on Metz. The French, fighting under shelter, lost only 8000 and some 4000 prisoners; the Germans had lost at least 20,000 men killed and wounded, but the assailants had gained their object; Bazaine with 173,000 troops (including National Guards) was shut up in Metz, whence the Emperor had escaped by the help of a strong escort.

Sedan.—With health and energy shattered, Napoleon repaired to the great camp at Chalons, which was being organised by MacMahon. It numbered 130,000 men drawn from the wreck of a defeated army and from the "Garde Mobile" or national militia, which showed bravery but little discipline or cohesion. Against this ill-organised force came the Crown Princes of Prussia and Saxony with victorious forces which, taken together, exceeded 150,000 men. Political reasons overruled MacMahon's determination to retire on Paris. Against his own judgment he moved north from Chalons, hoping to rescue Bazaine by taking the road by Montmédy and Thionville, though he knew this to be perilously near the Belgian frontier. The Germans, though surprised by this desperate move, plunged into the woody district of the Argonne, where Dumouriez and Kellermann had beaten back the Prussian invaders in 1792; but now all the energy and patriotism as well as skill was with the invaders, while carelessness and indecision paralysed the bravery of the French, for General de Failly's division was surprised in its bivouac by the Prussian Crown Prince at Beaumont (August 30), and thrown into utter rout. This compelled MacMahon's main force to fall back upon Sedan to concentrate.

The mad attempt to rescue Bazaine had failed; but worse was to follow. Sedan is a small old-fashioned for-

tress, lying in the winding valley of the Meuse, surrounded by wooded hills, and distant some seven miles from the Belgian frontier. The French were roughly handled in the village of Bazeilles by the Bavarians on August 31, and lost command of the bridge of Donchéry below Sedan; for neither this bridge nor the railway bridge over the Meuse at Bazeilles had been promptly blown up, in spite of orders to that effect. These losses edged the French into the death-trap, towards which political blindness and military carelessness had led them. The fatal 1st of September began with a disaster. Early in the day MacMahon was badly wounded, so the command then devolved upon the brave but rash General de Wimpffen, who, after returning from Algeria, rushed to Paris, and came thence with a secret order that he was to succeed MacMahon if the latter were disabled. The impetuous new commander was determined not to continue the retreat west on Mezières, but boldly to attack the Germans on the east or Metz side of Sedan.

In Bazeilles, on the east of Sedan, the French infantry, mostly marines, aided by the villagers, made the stoutest resistance. The village was soon in flames, kindled by whom is still a matter of dispute; but at last the French were driven back all along their east front towards Sedan, and were exposed to a pitiless fire from the German forces which had now worked round to the heights north and south of Sedan. Devoted charges of the French cavalry availed little against the ever-converging circle of foes, who now swept all the French positions with terrific shell-fire. At last Napoleon ordered the white flag to be hoisted over Sedan to put an end to the slaughter among the crowds of panic-stricken fugitives, and he sent the following note to the Prussian king: "Not having been able to die in the midst of my people, nothing remains for me but to place my sword in

the hands of your majesty." De Wimpffen strove to gain less rigorous terms from the iron von Moltke; and the Emperor himself at a weaver's cottage in Donchéry vainly sought to induce Bismarck to modify the terms. These were, that the commissioned officers be released on giving their word of honour that they would not serve against Germany in this war, and that the non-commissioned officers and the rank and file, 83,000 in number, should go as prisoners to Germany.

Only a week before MacMahon had set out with 130,000 troops from the Chalons camp to rescue Bazaine. Of this host only a few hundreds escaped to Mezières and Paris, while some 3000 fugitives laid down their arms in Belgium; those who survived the slaughter of Beaumont and Sedan were marched off into Germany. Four hundred and nineteen field guns and mitrailleuses, 139 garrison guns, and vast quantities of stores fell into the hands of the Germans.

Siege of Paris.—The revolution at Paris[1] put an end to the Prussian king's hope of a speedy peace; so the German troops marched on from Sedan by the valleys of the Aisne and Marne towards Paris. Augmented by reinforcements from Germany, the invaders now numbered in all about 750,000 men. On the 18th September 150,000 Germans arrived before Paris, and by the end of October 240,000 men began to encircle the immense ring of fifteen outer detached forts.

The governor Trochu's most vigorous sortie was made across the Marne towards Fontainebleau, where he hoped to join hands with the French relieving army of the Loire. Sixty thousand men under Ducrot succeeded in driving back the besiegers from Champigny and Villiers on November 30,

[1] See p. 266.

but there he waited until on the 2d December the Germans, now reinforced, retook half of Champigny; and the discouraged French withdrew, with the loss of 6000 men, under the shelter of the forts. From that date Trochu made no determined attempt to break through the lines of besiegers, though they had barely 250,000 men and 898 guns in open batteries.

Fall of the Eastern Fortresses.—Meanwhile a terrible blow had dashed the hopes of the French republicans. Bazaine, as we have seen, had taken refuge behind the forts of Metz with some 173,000 troops, of whom at least 50,000 were veterans. On the last day of August he made an effort to break out towards Thionville, where he expected to find MacMahon's relieving force. But he failed to dislodge a smaller German force from Noisseville, where it was entrenched, and henceforth he only harassed the Germans by small attacks. He probably hoped that the new French republican government would have only a short existence, and that after a speedy declaration of peace he, the head of the only regular army, might impose what government he pleased on France; but, as the Republic had decided to continue the struggle, famine began to stare Bazaine and his troops in the face by the middle of October. On the 24th no bread was left, so on the 25th he opened negotiations with Prince Frederick Charles for surrender. On the 29th October three marshals, 6000 officers, and 170,000 troops (including the National Guards and the disabled), 540 field pieces, 800 garrison pieces, and about 300,000 muskets fell into the hands of the besiegers—the vastest military surrender ever recorded in the annals of civilised nations. Prince Frederick Charles was able to hurry off with 55,000 picked troops to crush the new levies on the Loire which were hoping to raise the siege of Paris,

while others of the besiegers marched to strengthen the grip which the Germans already had on the French capital.

Toul had fallen on September 23 and Strassburg on September 27. The latter city, under the command of the gallant Uhrich, stoutly resisted General Werder's cruel and useless bombardment, which only embittered the inhabitants against their German kinsmen. At last, when provisions had run out and a breach was made in the walls, the brave garrison surrendered. Verdun and Thionville held out till November, Phalsburg till December, and Bitsch till the end of the war. Belfort was invested the 2d November, and offered a defence worthy of its fame. Thus the eastern fortresses, which were thought such an impenetrable barrier against invaders, had only delayed the overwhelming German forces. In fact, Sedan and Metz had proved to be traps in which defeated armies took refuge, only to be bombarded or starved into surrender.

Campaign on the Loire.—Gambetta had escaped from Paris by a balloon (October 8) to rouse the south and west for the rescue of Paris. Regiments just landed from Algeria and others from the southern garrisons formed the backbone of this new army; National Guards and volunteers raised it to a total of about 150,000 men. These, led by General Aurelle de Paladines, obliged the Bavarian General von der Tann to evacuate Orleans, and defeated his much smaller force at **Coulmiers**, near Orleans (November 9). But this, the only pitched battle won by the French in all the war, was not vigorously followed up, and Prince Frederick Charles was already on the march from Metz to throw back the army of the Loire. Collecting the various German forces, Prince Frederick Charles, at the head of about 100,000 tried troops, threw back the French host from one position to another and retook Orleans.

Gambetta, now dissatisfied with Aurelle de Paladines, gave the command of one part of the French army north of the Loire to General Chanzy, and the other, now reorganising at Bourges, to the ill-starred Bourbaki. The result was to be doubly disastrous. Chanzy was at first forced down the Loire, and at last, after fighting bravely at every strong position in bitter wintry weather, retired on Le Mans. A panic in the evening of January 11 seized hold of some raw French levies who had been disheartened by retreat and constant hard fighting, and next day Chanzy, evacuating this important town, retreated into Britanny, his army shattered by defeats and the loss of 18,000 prisoners. Still his was the bravest and most obstinate resistance made by any French general in this one-sided war.

Bourbaki's Campaign.—Mystery hung over the movements of the smaller part of the army of the Loire, now under Bourbaki, till General Werder, whose forces had invested Belfort and were now threatening Dijon, heard that Bourbaki, reinforced by large contingents from the south of France, was advancing on Besançon with some 150,000 men. Werder had only 37,000 men, with whom he had been pushing back a French column and Garibaldi's 20,000 irregulars. The Government of National Defence hoped that by throwing Bourbaki's host against the German front, where it was weakest, it might relieve Belfort, which was stoutly resisting, cut through the German communications in Alsace, and compel the siege of Paris to be raised. But Gambetta, as before on the Loire, looked to the number of troops rather than their efficiency, and he underrated the marching and fighting power of the Germans. Werder, retiring hastily on Villersexel, there delayed Bourbaki's ill-clad, badly organised troops, as they were toiling painfully along in the bitter winter weather. Thus the

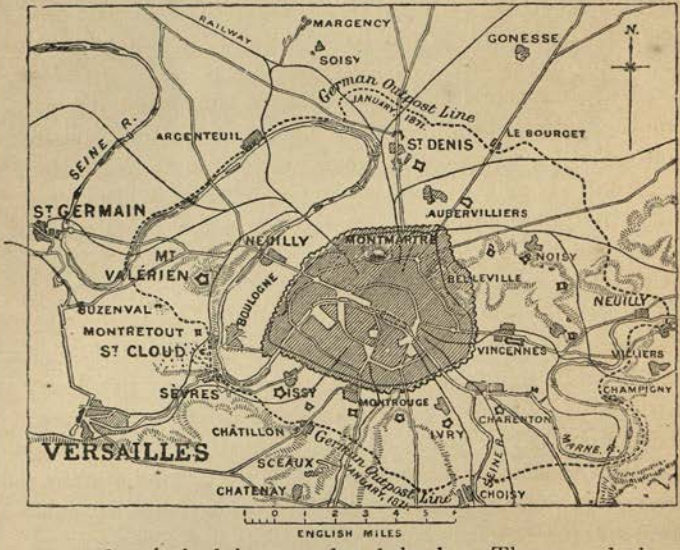
Germans gained time to receive reinforcements, and took up splendid defensive positions on the southern offshoots of the Vosges, so as to screen the German forces besieging Belfort. Werder's small army, entrenched on heights at Héricourt, near Belfort, withstood for three days (January 15-17) the attacks of Bourbaki's masses of men, till the latter hurried back towards Besançon on hearing that General Manteuffel was marching on his rear. Pressed on both sides in the snow-clad Jura near Pontarlier, and overcome by the sight of his demoralised bands of starving and half-frozen soldiery, Bourbaki tried to commit suicide. His successor, General Clinchant, appointed by the government at Bordeaux, succeeded in taking some 90,000 survivors across the Swiss frontier, where they laid down their arms and were well cared for in the different cantons. Such was the pitiable end of an army which might have co-operated with Chanzy on the Loire and Faidherbe in the north for raising the siege of Paris by combined efforts of the besieged and relieving forces; but there was no master mind to move the French armies like parts of a great machine, as Moltke moved the Germans. There was plenty of individual bravery, as in the case of Garibaldi's irregulars, who defended Dijon from 12,000 Prussians (Jan. 20, 1871).

Faidherbe's Campaign in the North.—The French forces in the north had not been strong enough to prevent the capture of Amiens and Rouen; but when they were concentrated and placed under the command of the able General Faidherbe, maintained a stout resistance at Pont Noyelles (December 23) and Bapaume (January 3, 1871), north of St. Quentin, and tried to menace the besiegers of Paris from the north. Manteuffel, who was sent south to crush Bourbaki, handed over the command of the German forces of the north to General Göben, who with some 30,000

men met the 50,000 French near St. Quentin (January 19), drove them from all their positions, and took 10,000 prisoners. Faidherbe's levies fled in utter rout to Cambrai. This finished the campaign in the north.

Sorties from Paris.—The bravest of the defenders of Paris were the marines and sailors of the French fleet, which had proved so useless on the North Sea and Baltic

PARIS



coasts that it had been ordered back. These and the regular troops bravely served the artillery of the fifteen large forts against the German batteries, which opened fire on the city (January 6). This bombardment silenced the southern forts and inflicted much damage on the south-west parts of Paris on the left bank of the Seine. On December 21 and 22 Trochu had directed an ill-supported

and therefore useless sortie on the north side against Le Bourget. When food was nearly exhausted Trochu made a last attempt to force a way out on the west past St. Cloud (January 19). Supported by the guns of the powerful fort Mont Valérien, 100,000 French troops, mostly National Guards, led by Generals Ducrot and Vinoy, carried the village of Montretout; but the late arrival of their right wing and the want of field artillery obliged the whole force to fall back. If the sortie had been vigorously made one day earlier it would at any rate have disturbed an extraordinary assembly in the palace of Versailles.

Proclamation of the German Empire.—The astonishing victories of the united German forces had aroused through the whole of Germany a passionate desire for national as well as military union. King William and Bismarck, both before and after 1866, had wisely refrained from forcing on any premature act of political union. After the news of Sedan reached Berlin, a popular gathering made an appeal to the King of Prussia and to the German people for the unity of Germany, with the addition of Alsace-Lorraine. Similar meetings in Munich and Stuttgart carried along the governments of South Germany. Baden and Hesse made no reservations (on entering the North German Confederation), though Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Saxony procured the right of vetoing any subsequent change in the constitution of the new Empire.

At last on the 10th December a deputation of the North German Parliament came from Berlin to Versailles, headed by President Simson, who before had offered the German crown to Frederick William IV. In the name of the Parliament and of the princes of Germany, they begged King William to take the crown of the new[1] German Empire.

[1] New, *not revived.*

In the splendid mirror hall of Versailles palace, amidst the trophies of Louis XIV, the Prussian king at mid-day, January 18, was proclaimed William I, German Emperor. The stalwart old Emperor had, before reaching his teens, seen Prussia crushed by Napoleon at Jena. Taught by his brave mother, the beautiful Queen Louisa of Prussia, he had not despaired, and now he triumphantly reversed the work of Napoleon I. by victories over Napoleon III. Jena had cut Germany in half. Sedan completed the work of reunion on a firmer basis than that divided land had known since the Middle Ages. The South German potentates, whose ancestors had aided Louis XIV and Napoleon I. against their fatherland, were now devoted to the cause of German unity, however much they might differ as to details of its constitution.

The new Empire was now formed on Prussia as a backbone, and was not a loose federation of States with an elective emperor. Formerly troubles had arisen from the rivalry of the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs, the elective character of the Empire, and the feuds of the Princes. But all this was changed by the wars of 1866 and 1870.

The Treaty of Frankfurt.—The defenders of Paris were now aware that Chanzy, Faidherbe, and Bourbaki had failed, and that forty departments were held by their foes. So negotiations led to an armistice, during which the forts round Paris were to be held by the German forces (January 28). Finally, the National Assembly, which met at Bordeaux on February 13, ratified the preliminaries of peace which had been arranged, and afterwards ratified the treaty signed at Frankfurt, May 10. France had to cede Alsace (except Belfort) and German Lorraine, including the first-class fortresses Metz and Strassburg. She also had to pay a huge war indemnity of five milliards of francs (about

£200,000,000), of which at least one milliard was to be paid in 1871. Paris and the forty departments were to be gradually relieved of the German forces of occupation as the milliards were paid. Part of the German army was to enter Paris in triumph, and the part of the capital south-west of the Seine was for three days to be occupied by 30,000 German troops.

In this war of 180 days the Germans had won fifteen great victories, captured twenty-six fortresses, and made 363,000 French troops prisoners. Even the most brilliant of Napoleon I's campaigns had achieved no such results as these; and the German Empire is a more solid structure than the vast but ephemeral empire of the first Napoleon. The Prussian monarch and his able counsellor limited their aims to what was practicable, fought one foe at a time, and achieved an enduring success.

On the 16th June the aged Emperor, surrounded by the Crown Prince, Moltke, and Bismarck, who had been made Prince of the Empire at the conclusion of peace, entered Berlin at the head of his victorious troops—the third time within seven years.

The German Empire. — The Emperor and Prince Bismarck, Chancellor of the Empire, now desired peace, so that Germany might grow still stronger and more united under its new constitution. This was an extension of that of the North German Confederation, which it replaced. The Prussian King was to be Emperor, and the Prussian Crown Prince was to be the Crown Prince of the Empire. The Emperor was to represent the State in its relations with foreign Powers, and to declare war and peace. He also was to possess extensive legislative and executive powers. The Chancellor of the Empire is appointed by the Emperor, presides in the Federal Council, and has the

direct control of foreign affairs, and a general guidance of public business in the Parliament. The main legislative power resides with the Federal Council (Bundesrath) and the Imperial Diet or Parliament (Reichstag), both of which meet at Berlin. The Federal Council is composed of sixty-two representatives. Prussia sends seventeen, Bavaria six, Saxony four, Würtemberg four, Baden three, Hesse three, and the smaller States the remainder. The States must give their votes as a whole. Any amendment of the imperial constitution must be rejected if fourteen votes (*e.g.* those of Bavaria, Saxony, and Würtemberg) were given against it. The Federal Council consists of delegations from the Governments. The Imperial Diet is elected triennially by universal suffrage, and by direct secret ballot, in proportion to the population of the States and districts. It can propose laws for the Empire, and these have precedence over those of the separate States.

The Empire has exclusive power over the army, navy, and also over the customs dues : (the free cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck have since joined the Customs system of the Empire, 1888). The troops of all the States were at once organised on the Prussian system of universal compulsory military service, and placed under the command of the Emperor, who has command of all fortresses.

The stamps and coinage of all German States were unified, and the Empire acquired the control of all telegraphs and post office receipts, except those of Bavaria. Later on, in 1879, Baden and the Palatinate abandoned the Code Napoleon for the German Imperial Code of Laws, which Bavaria, Saxony, and Würtemberg have also adopted in place of their old national codes. The Empire has also purchased many of the railways, and will probably acquire them all in time. Thus the Emperor and Bismarck suc-

ceeded in tightening the bonds which united the different German States.

The old German Empire had fallen to pieces from its own divisions and from religious dissensions. Bismarck, not content with conquering the first difficulty, also determined to overcome the influence of the Holy See in German affairs. So in July 1872 the Emperor signed a law expelling the Jesuits and similar orders from the German Empire; and in the following May came the famous "May Laws," which aimed at reducing Roman Catholic priests to a position of dependence on the State. No priest was to enter on his duties without the sanction of the State, until he had passed an examination in a German "gymnasium" (public school) in three faculties beside theology. The effect of this was that a boy destined for the priesthood had to pass at the age of five years in the government schools, and thence into the army, before he became a priest. This law was, however, not to affect Bavaria and Würtemberg. Henceforth even the moderate Roman Catholics became more and more Ultramontane, and in the Reichstag they combined with the discontented members from Posen, Schleswig, Hanover, and Alsace-Lorraine to form a troublesome opposition to Bismarck's centralising policy; and eventually he allowed the May Laws to lapse.

The socialist movement for the equalisation of property and the management of all industry by the State was begun in Germany after 1862 by the orator Lasalle. The increase of individual fortunes, side by side with the domestic misery caused by the war and the financial crisis of 1878, increased the number and power of the socialists. In that year, after two attempts were made on the life of the aged Emperor, repressive measures were passed, which have failed to repress socialism, especially in Berlin, Hamburg,

and Leipzig. In fact, the socialists form an important group in the German Reichstag. Bismarck carried a bill for securing pensions to old artisans from payments made by them and their employers, and assisted by the State.

Foreign Policy.—Bismarck also strove to make the new Empire unassailable by any war of revenge which France might meditate. So he brought about a meeting at Berlin of the three Emperors of Germany, Russia, and Austria. The Czar Alexander sincerely liked his uncle the Emperor of Germany, although the Russians were jealous of the new Empire. Francis Joseph also determined to forget Königgrätz, dismissed his anti-German chancellor, Count Beust, and summoned as his adviser the Hungarian Count Andrassy, who had advocated friendship with Germany. As a result of this Berlin meeting the Three Emperors' League was entered into—a defensive league, which also strove to combat the revolutionary excitement produced throughout Europe by the scenes of the Commune in Paris. Berlin was now the political centre of Europe, as Vienna had been from 1814 to 1848 and Paris up to 1870. Victor Emmanuel came to Berlin to show his friendship with the new Empire, and the Emperor William received an enthusiastic welcome in Milan in 1875.

On October 15, 1879, Bismarck at Vienna brought about an Austro-German compact, which provided for a defensive alliance between the two central Powers in case either was attacked by Russia. So now Germany was to support Austria in the Eastern Question within certain limits.

The French protectorate of Tunis alienated Italy from France, and Italy began to seek admission to the Austro-German compact. Bismarck, however, was not eager for an alliance with Italy, for at that time he was seeking to patch

up his quarrel with the Pope, with whom the Italian Government was on bad terms. Consequently the Central Powers could almost dictate their conditions to the Italian Cabinet, ever anxious as it was lest the friction with France should produce an open rupture. In the month of May 1882 treaties were signed which laid the basis of the **Triple Alliance.** The three Powers thereby guaranteed to one another the possession of their territories, and specified the measures to be adopted for mutual aid in case of need. Italy seems to have gained little from the alliance except further security against Jesuit intrigues and a possible French attack.

The value of the alliance to the Central Powers was seen in the stormy years that followed. The Three Emperors' League went to pieces in the disputes that arose over Bulgaria, and in 1886-1887, when Russia threatened war, Germany, Austria, and Italy renewed the Triple Alliance (March 1887) in such a way as to impose respect on restless Slavophils in Russia and Boulangists in France. Despite the retirement of Bismarck in the year 1890 the alliance was renewed in the following year, as also in 1897. It was the masterpiece of his career, for it safeguarded German unity and bound firmly together the parts of Europe whose weakness had formerly invited aggression from the powerful extremities. (Continued in Chapter XLIV.)

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

AUSTRIA—HUNGARY.

THE Austrian Empire has always managed to profit by its own misfortunes as well as by those of its neighbours; and the present emperor, with the self-possession and prudence of the House of Hapsburg, has known how to strengthen his realm by the defeats of Solferino and Königgrätz. Thus after the loss of Lombardy in 1859, he sought to bind the rest of his dominions more closely by granting rights of local self-government in the "October Patent" (1860). By this reform the legislative power was to be exercised by the Emperor with the participation of the provincial Diets and of the imperial council. He also proclaimed the eligibility of citizens for all offices, the extension of electoral rights, and the abolition of compulsory feudal service and other similar burdens. A Chamber of Deputies was also formed, representing all parts of the Empire.

In February 1861 Francis Joseph granted a further step towards constitutional rule by making his ministers responsible; but the complete constitution was postponed owing to the opposition of all Hungarians to its centralising tendencies. Their passive resistance, under the leadership of the prudent and law-abiding patriot Deák, led the Emperor in September 1865 to restore the powers of the

provincial Diets; and he even showed a desire to treat Hungary according to the principles laid down in the "Pragmatic Sanction" (1724), which acknowledged the right of Hungary to control its own legislation and administration; but even the moderate party in Hungary, guided by Deák, demanded the restoration of their ancient constitution, abolished in 1848; yet he and his followers discountenanced the efforts of the ultra-nationalists to raise Hungary in revolt during the disastrous war of 1866.

Three days after the disaster of Königgrätz the Emperor sent for Deák. "Well, Deák, what shall I do now?" he asked. "Your Majesty must first make peace, and then give Hungary her rights," replied the Hungarian statesman. After the Peace of Prague, Count Beust, unable to negotiate with the overbearing Bismarck, had to leave the diplomatic service of King John of Saxony, and became Chancellor and Foreign Minister of the Austrian Empire; and in 1867 he succeeded in inducing the Germans of Austria proper to accept a compromise advocated by Deák, known as the dual system of government. The chief opposition to this was offered by the extreme Magyar patriots and by the federalists: the latter party desired that the Slavs of Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, Croatia, and Slavonia should join the Germans of the western provinces and the Magyars of Hungary in a triple federation; but the Slavs, though superior in numbers to the Germans and Magyars together, were widely separated in locality, language, and sentiment, while the Magyars or Hungarians, though numbering only 5,700,000, were at least a united race. So in the compromise of 1867 the Slavs of Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, and Dalmatia remained with Austria, while those of Croatia and Slavonia fell under the sway of the re-

constituted Hungarian monarchy. The new system of government was proposed and carried in the year 1867.

The Dual Government (1867). — The Austrian Emperor was to be crowned as Apostolical King of Hungary with the sacred crown of St. Stephen, thus showing that he adhered to the old Hungarian constitution, as distinct from that of Austria. In June 1868 the emperor and empress were crowned at Buda-Pesth, and a full amnesty was granted to all political offenders.

The Austrian Empire was henceforth to consist of two States equal in every respect, each having its own form of government, but united under the same ruler, under a complicated mixed representation known as the "Delegations," and under joint ministries for Foreign Affairs, War, and Finance.

Each half of the Empire was to have a separate ministry for Commerce, Finance, Justice, Public Worship, Agriculture, and National Defence. The Lower House of the Austrian Reichsrath, or Parliament, consists of 353 deputies, and the Hungarian Diet of 444, both elected by a somewhat limited electorate.

The "Delegations" from the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments form the connecting link between their representative Chambers. They are composed of sixty members elected from each Parliament, meeting alternately at Vienna and Pesth, but deliberating separately. If the two "Delegations" disagree, they exchange their views in writing, and if they still disagree, they decide the matter by individual votes, the emperor having the casting vote.

Thus the two governments act together in affairs affecting foreign treaties, the army and navy, customs duties, coinage, the arrangements of railways, and all matters which directly concern the Empire as a whole.

This cumbrous arrangement for some time worked well, owing to the loyalty with which Deák and nearly all Hungarians sought to uphold the compromise. In most of the matters in dispute the advantage has rested with the Hungarians, especially in the customs duties.

The chief discontent was, and is still, in Transylvania, Croatia, and Bohemia. The ancient principality of Transylvania, long independent of Hungary, was now in 1868 united with it, though less than a fourth of its people are of the Magyar stock. More than half the population of this little-known land is Roumanian, and desires union with its kindred south of the Carpathians; while the Saxon descendants of the old German immigrants desire to keep their old laws and customs and not to have Hungarian government from Buda-Pesth.

Much more serious, however, is the opposition of the Slavs of Croatia and Bohemia to fusion with Hungary and Austria respectively. The southern Slavs of Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia wish to see Francis Joseph crowned at Agram as king of a greater Croatia. They detest the Magyar supremacy and tear down the official notices in the Magyar language; and though they have a local Diet at Agram, subject to that of Buda-Pesth, they claim to have greater executive powers and independence of Magyar control. It is only the military prowess and patriotism of the Magyars which has won them their supremacy in their own monarchy, for they number less than 6,000,000, while their Slav subjects number about the same, the Roumanians about 2,900,000, and their German and other subjects about 2,000,000.

There is the same anomaly in Austria, for there the dominant German race numbers 8,500,000, while there are 12,000,000 of the northern Slavs in Bohemia, Moravia,

and Galicia, who claim to be united with Austria as a federation under the same ruler. Fortunately for Austrian statesmanship the Slavs of Bohemia (called Tsechs) cannot agree with the Poles of Galicia on any practical plan for this federation; but the Tsechs have shown a bitter hostility to the German race; and in the local Bohemian Diet at Prague they have so trampled upon German susceptibilities that the German deputies for a time retired from its sessions.

In the south of Tyrol and along the coast-line of Istria and Dalmatia is an Italian population of some 500,000; but the Italian "Irredentist" agitation (*i.e.* for the union of these districts, together with Nice and Corsica from France, and the Ticino from Switzerland, with Italy) was officially discouraged by Italian statesmen.

Only the loyalty of all these diverse races towards the House of Hapsburg could keep them in union; and Francis Joseph has merited more and more the regard of his subjects by promoting their interests and calming their mutual jealousies.

Internal Policy.—It is impossible to describe briefly the complicated claims of the various provincial Diets, and the conflicts of the centralists and federalists in the Reichsrath at Vienna. In 1871 Count Beust was succeeded as chancellor by the former Hungarian premier, Count Andrassy, who advocated a good understanding with Germany and the repression of the federalist claims made by the provinces of Austria. The government had already abolished its concordat, or agreement with the Roman Catholic Church, and had claimed authority over the education of the young. Both halves of the monarchy were engaged in reorganising the army and founding the administration on a modern constitutional basis very different

from that in vogue before 1867; and the dual system seemed finally completed when the military frontier along the river Save was handed over to Hungary, and when Tisza, the leader of the Hungarian left or opposition, declared that he and his party now (1875) loyally accepted the compromise of 1867. He now took office in a coalition ministry at Buda-Pesth, and for some time enjoyed great authority in the Hungarian Diet; and he used it to support Austria in her foreign policy. So in Hungary, as in France and Italy, those who had been the most furious opponents of their old governments have now come to be the steadfast supporters of the reformed systems.

At Vienna a man of Irish descent, Count Taafe, who was a personal friend of Francis Joseph, headed a federalist ministry in 1879, and sought to appease the northern Slavs by every possible concession; so the Bohemian deputies in 1879 took their places again in the Vienna Reichsrath, from which they had retired; but their success at Prague has at present only seemed to envenom them against the Germans of Bohemia.

Foreign Policy.—There is little doubt that Count Beust in 1870 had arranged secretly with Napoleon III for Austria to help France against Germany, and so win back her place in German affairs; but the Russian understanding with Prussia prevented Austria from joining France. We have seen (p. 318) how Francis Joseph accepted the new order of things, and how he finally sought the support of Germany for a solution of the Eastern Question favourable to Austria.

With the support of the English and German diplomatists at the Berlin Conference (1878) Bosnia was to be occupied and administered by Austria, who thus became the sentinel on the Balkans as well as on her own Carpathian

range. The province had to be almost conquered by her troops, and a rising was put down in 1882. It is now incorporated with the Empire, but is a source of weakness to it. It not only increases the preponderance of the Slavonic race in the Empire, but its occupation annoys the Greeks, Servians, and Bulgarians, who think Austria means to advance to Salonica. Above all, Russia sees in Austria her great rival in the Eastern Question, and knows that if she reaches Constantinople by way of the Danube it must be against the forces of Austria-Hungary. A firm adherence to the alliance with Germany and Italy is the best security of the Dual Monarchy, and that alliance was renewed in the years 1891, 1897, and 1902.

The internal dissensions fomented by the more extreme of the Magyars, the Tsechs in Bohemia, and other offshoots of the Slav family in the southern provinces, led to many parliamentary crises; and in the years 1897-1899 the break-up of the Empire seemed imminent. By the exertions of the Emperor a compromise was effected between Austria and Hungary; but the Germans, deeming their interests neglected, started a Pan-German movement, which aims at uniting the Teutonic parts of the Empire to the Germanic system. This has added one more to the many problems that distract the Hapsburg realm. Amidst these centrifugal forces the feeling of loyalty to Francis Joseph is of priceless worth. It has been enhanced by the fortitude with which he has borne trials both public and private. In 1889 his only son, Rudolph, committed suicide. Nine years later his consort, the Empress Elizabeth, fell under the dagger of an anarchist at Geneva. Despite these heavy blows, Francis Joseph has held together his discordant peoples with marvellous tact. Not till he is gone will the Dual Monarchy know how much it owes to him.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE UNITY OF ITALY.

Peace, peace, peace, do you say?
And this the Mincio? Where's the fleet,
And where's the sea?"
MRS. BROWNING, 1859.

		POPES.
Victor Emmanuel II	King of Sardinia (1849-1861). King of Italy (1861-1878).	Pius IX (1846-1878).
Ferdinand II	King of the Two Sicilies (1830-1859).	Leo XIII (1878-1903).
Francis II	King of the Two Sicilies (1859-1861).	

Sardinia.—The only hope for the divided and disappointed Italians after the collapse of 1849 seemed to be in the character of the young king, Victor Emmanuel II, who had so valiantly fought at Novara, and after that crushing defeat had received the crown at the hands of his heart-broken father. The young king, now in his twenty-eighth year, was of the bold dashing spirit characteristic of the House of Savoy, and, in spite of some coarseness in his tastes, was of a frank and generous nature, and intensely devoted to his country. His burly frame, martial bearing, and devotion to field sports soon made him popular with all Italians, though in speech and sentiment he was more a

Savoyard than Italian. He called himself and was called *Re Galantuomo* (the honest king).

He had to submit to hard terms from the victorious Radetzky, viz. 100,000,000 francs war indemnity, dismissal of all foreign troops (*i.e.* other than Sardinian), and the temporary occupation of part of his land and of its chief fortress Alessandria. Further humiliations the young king scorned to undergo, with the words, "Our dynasty has been acquainted with misfortune, but it never stooped to dishonour," and Radetzky relented.

The king called a Parliament at Turin, which ratified the terms of peace. He formed a Cabinet with the wise and prudent D'Azeglio first at its head, which began a course of prudent conciliation towards Austria and the French President, as well as the development of Piedmontese resources. Soon he called a remarkable man to take the helm of affairs as well as the ministry of finance, which sorely needed attention.

Cavour.—The scion of an ancient Piedmontese family, Count Cavour early showed that resolute practical nature for which the Piedmontese have often been compared with Englishmen. Though the Sardinian kingdom had been exhausted by defeat and war indemnity, Cavour boldly spent money in furthering public works, and in the spread of popular education. A resolute free-trader himself ever since his residence in England, he abolished the corn duties and reformed the tariff of the State, which soon recovered from the first loss. Besides pushing on the construction of railroads and telegraphs, he strengthened the little kingdom by making Spezzia a powerful naval station. Thus at the London Exhibition of 1851 the tricolour green-white-and-red flag of the Sardinian kingdom was almost acknowledged as the Italian national colours.

The bluff king and his trusty, skilful counsellor were almost worshipped by all other Italians who longed for their enlightened rule.

Count Cavour was still bolder in his foreign policy. Anxious to win the entire support of the two western Powers for the Italian cause, he persuaded the Turin Parliament to join them in the Crimean War. So while Austria selfishly remained neutral, though her interests were involved, Sardinia sent 15,000 troops, afterwards increased to 25,000, to the Crimea, where they distinguished themselves at the battle of the Tchernaya. At the Paris Congress Cavour was admitted as the representative of Savoy, and claimed that the "Legations," or northern provinces of the Papal States, should be administered separately from Rome by secular officials; but this was refused by the congress as beyond its powers to grant. England and France, however, by means of diplomatic pressure caused Austrian troops to evacuate Tuscany and the Legations (1856).

Meanwhile the king and Cavour had earned the hostility of Pope Pius IX by the Convent Bill. In Piedmont there was one priest to every 227 of the laity;[1] and of the 23,000 ecclesiastics in the kingdom of Sardinia, the few were rolling in wealth and ease, while the hard-worked village priests were often receiving only £20 a year. The Ratazzi Bill proposed to suppress the useless convents and use their revenues for the relief of these hard cases. In spite of the frantic opposition of the pope and the clerical party, the Bill was passed on May 22, 1855. As the pope was under Austrian and French influence, there was from this time a growing hostility between the national party and the clerical party, which was jealous of any advance from Turin upon Rome.

[1] The proportion in Austria was 1 to 600.

War of Liberation.—The sight of well-ordered freedom in the Sardinian realm was having its effect not only on other Italians, but also on French Liberals, who longed for "liberty as it was in Piedmont;" and Napoleon felt himself drawn by the democratic current to intervene in Italy against Austria, the champion of autocracy. He met Cavour at Plombières in the summer of 1858, and his cousin, Prince Jerome Napoleon,[1] married Clotilde, the daughter of Victor Emmanuel. His declaration to the Austrian ambassador on New Year's Day 1859, that he was on unfriendly terms with the Emperor Francis Joseph, was echoed by Victor Emmanuel's words to the Turin Parliament, "I will not be deaf to the cry of anguish which rises from so many parts of Italy."

Austria's peremptory summons to Sardinia to disarm was met with a refusal; and the wavering Napoleon finally sent over 100,000 troops across the Alps, or by sea to Genoa, to join the 65,000 Piedmontese. The 100,000 Austrians under Count Gyulay, after crossing the Ticino, waited to be attacked between it and the Po, instead of crushing the Piedmontese before they were joined by the French. At last Gyulay pushed forward a reconnoitring force, which was worsted at Montebello. The active Garibaldi with 3200 volunteers pressed into the north of Lombardy, occupied Como, and even threatened Milan; but the French and Piedmontese governments were jealous of his volunteer force, and he accomplished little of importance. The Austrians retired across the Ticino before the main French and Piedmontese armies, and at Magenta they contested the crossing. For a time Napoleon

[1] Born in 1822, a descendant of Jerome, once King of Westphalia, he was destined by Napoleon III for the throne of Central Italy; nicknamed Plon-Plon by the French.

and his guards were hard pressed, but MacMahon (June 4, 1859), having crossed the river higher up, came in time to decide the day for the allies. For this he was created Duc de Magenta. The allies lost 4000 men, but the Austrians, with a loss of 6000 men, hastily retired across the Mincio, thus handing over nearly all Lombardy to the allied armies, which entered Milan amidst wild rejoicings.

This retreat of the Austrians inside their famous quadrilateral of fortresses (Mantua, Peschiera, Verona, and Legnago) encouraged the Italians of Central Italy to strike for national unity. The Dukes of Tuscany, Modena, and Parma were forced by their subjects to flee from their capitals. In the Papal States the pope's legate had to retire from Bologna when the Austrians left, and the populace proclaimed the dictatorship of Victor Emmanuel. Even in Umbria the Papal Swiss troops had to storm Perugia to keep that province for the pope.

Solferino.—Francis Joseph himself now took command of the Austrians and determined not to act on the defensive inside the "Quadrilateral," but with his army, now raised to some 200,000 men, to meet the allied armies in Lombardy. He posted his army on an amphitheatre of hills near the south-west end of Lake Garda, with Solferino as his centre. The French, armed with better cannon and guns, were several times driven back, but in the afternoon they remained masters of the Austrian centre. The Piedmontese on the allied left seven times stormed the hill of San Martino, from which they were as often dislodged by its stubborn defender Benedek, till late in the evening he too was dislodged. The Austrians withdrew in good order over the Mincio with the loss of some 25,000 men and 6000 prisoners, but the allies had lost very heavily (June 24).

Villafranca.—Prince Jerome Napoleon, who landed with a French force at Leghorn, had been received with little favour in Tuscany; for it was suspected that the Emperor wished to create him ruler of Central Italy. In fact, Napoleon had wished to see Victor Emmanuel King of Piedmont, Lombardy, and Venetia, Joseph Napoleon sovereign of the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena, and of the Romagna, while the Two Sicilies were to go to the heir of Joachim Murat. With Rome occupied by French troops, this would have made Italy a federation under Napoleon's control. When the popular demonstrations at Florence, Parma, Modena, and Bologna, in favour of union with Sardinia, showed these partitions to be impossible, Napoleon determined not to undertake the reduction of the "Quadrilateral." Demonstrations in South Germany in favour of Austria gave him the excuse of fearing an attack from Prussia, who was mobilising her forces. So at Villafranca, near Verona, Napoleon met Francis Joseph and arranged the preliminaries of peace without the presence of Victor Emmanuel (July 11). Austria was to cede all Lombardy, except the fortress and district of Mantua, to Napoleon, by him to be transferred to Victor Emmanuel; but she was still to retain Venetia and the fortress of Mantua. The potentates were to be restored to the central duchies on the vote of their subjects, but not by foreign intervention. These terms were ratified in the Treaty of Zürich (November 1859).

Union with Central Italy—Loss of Savoy and Nice.—The news of this sudden change of front astonished Europe and maddened the Italians. Cavour resigned his ministry at Turin; but in January 1860 he was recalled by Victor Emmanuel during the negotiations which ensued about the central duchies and an Italian Confederation

The emperor proposed that the pope should be head of the federate and reformed Italian States which he wished to create. The pope refused to reform and secularise his government, and Napoleon now inclined to the severance of the Legations from the Papal States; for by a plebiscite the central duchies and the Legations in August and September 1859 voted almost unanimously for union with Victor Emmanuel's realm. So finally (in March 1860), with Napoleon's consent, and with the support of England to Cavour's diplomacy, all the central duchies and the Papal Legations joined the Sardinian realm, which now extended from Mont Blanc to Rimini on the Adriatic, and included the rich duchy of Tuscany. In vain did the pope denounce his spoliators with excommunication. The sense of national unity was stronger than religious discipline.

The Papal States[1] proper still barred the southward expansion of the Sardinian monarchy, and the king had been obliged to give Savoy and Nice to France. Victor Emmanuel and Cavour had in 1858 promised Savoy to Napoleon in return for the freedom of North Italy, and now the price for Napoleon's consent to the union of Central Italy under Victor Emmanuel's rule was the cession of Savoy and also Nice to him. The Turin Parliament by a large majority ratified this cession, in spite of a fiery protest from Garibaldi against the cession of Italian Nice. Victor Emmanuel said that he surrendered Savoy, the "glorious cradle of his race,"[2] in return for Central Italy. In fact, he could not incur the enmity of France, as well

[1] That is, the Roman territory, Umbria, and the Marches.

[2] Savoy was a relic of the Burgundian territories of the old Counts of Savoy. The House of Savoy henceforth became entirely Italian, and no longer half French, half Piedmontese. At Vienna in 1815 it had been stipulated that the N.E. part of Savoy was to be neutral, like Switzerland.

as of Austria and the pope; while Cavour saw that the North Italian State might, with the support of France, soon advance farther south; for the French Emperor was open to generous enthusiasms, one of them being that he would regenerate the Latin races and restore them to a level with the Teutonic races both in Europe and America. The regeneration of South Italy was, however, to be effected by a very different man.

Garibaldi frees South Italy.—Mr. Gladstone, after a visit to Naples in 1851, had written to Lord Aberdeen's government a description of the state of things in the Two Sicilies. Prisoners were left in the State-prisons in the vilest surroundings for months without the pretence of a trial. The constitution which Ferdinand II (nicknamed King Bomba) gave in 1848 had been first evaded and then nullified. His son Francis II, who succeeded him in May 1859, persevered in this oppression with all the cruelty of fear, and all South Italy groaned under a dull despotic sway upheld by the priests.

It had even been proposed to send the allied English and French fleets to Naples in 1856 on their return from the Crimea, to bring Ferdinand II to reason; and in 1860 Lord John Russell said that the Neapolitan Government must take the consequences of "misgovernment which had no parallel in all Europe."

The freedom-loving Sicilians were with difficulty kept down in April 1860 on hearing the news from North and Central Italy. So Mazzini felt that the tyrant of South Italy could be best attacked in Sicily, and prepared a revolt at Palermo. Garibaldi and Crispi, a Sicilian, gathered together the famous "thousand" volunteers along the Italian Riviera, west of Genoa, secretly embarked them on two steamers, and landed them at Marsala on the west

coast of Sicily[1] (May 14, 1860). His volunteers routed King Francis' troops in the streets of Palermo, so that they finally agreed to evacuate all Sicily except Milazzo and Messina. Though the citadel of Messina still held out, Garibaldi prepared to deliver the mainland.

Meanwhile Count Cavour had sent the Sardinian admiral Persano after Garibaldi, ostensibly to hinder him from his mad enterprise, but with secret instructions to help him; so Garibaldi disregarded the request of Victor Emmanuel that he would content himself with freeing Sicily, and replied that he would not sheath his sword till the King of Sardinia was King of all Italy. Garibaldi was now at the head of some 25,000 men; and, cleverly eluding the Neapolitan fleet, he conveyed the pick of these troops across the straits and captured Reggio by a night attack. From this fortress his march northward along the rugged Calabrian coast-line was one triumphal procession. The troops of the Bourbon sovereign refused to fight a man whom they feared as the devil incarnate, while the excited peasants hailed him as "our second Jesus Christ." At one place 7000 Bourbon troops laid down their arms on being summoned to surrender to Garibaldi. All resistance ceased as he advanced, and at Salerno he left his carriage and took the train for Naples with thirteen English comrades. The only delay to his progress was caused by the enthusiasts, who even climbed on to the engine. In this extraordinary way Garibaldi entered Naples, which was mad with delight at his arrival, and the few Bourbon troops left in the fortress of St. Elmo soon threw up their caps for

[1] Lord John Russell, in a letter to Hudson, our ambassador at Turin, compared this expedition to that of William of Orange to free England; and Palmerston allowed English men-of-war to encourage and even help Garibaldi.

Garibaldi. Francis II and his remaining 40,000 troops retired to the Volturno river, some twenty miles north of Naples. There Garibaldi with nearly the same numbers attacked, and after a sharp struggle routed, the Bourbon troops (October 1, 1860). Francis II and his courageous young queen, who inspired the defenders of Gaëta by her example, after its surrender retired to Rome. So ended in Italy the rule of the Bourbons. This once powerful royal house now held only the throne of Spain.

The Kingdom of Italy.—Gaëta had been besieged not by the Garibaldians, but by Victor Emmanuel's Piedmontese troops; for the court of Turin had intervened to unite Southern with Northern Italy, and also to prevent the enthusiastic Garibaldi from rushing on Rome and thus causing a war with Napoleon. So Victor Emmanuel marched south, overthrew the Papal troops at Castelfidardo (September 18, 1860), took Ancona, and issued a manifesto to the people of South Italy, calling on them to proclaim their will. "I know that I close the era of revolution in Italy," were his proud and true words. Garibaldi with noble self-effacement had joined constitutional royalists, thus separating himself from the republican Mazzini, who soon had to leave Italy.

After the victory on the Volturno Garibaldi rode forward to meet Victor Emmanuel, and, clasping his hand, laid down the dictatorship of South Italy (October 26, 1860). Never was a mad enterprise crowned by so brilliant a triumph and by so noble an act of self-renunciation. To Count Cavour belongs the credit of secretly guiding and aiding Garibaldi, and of securing the neutrality of Napoleon during Victor Emmanuel's march through the Papal States. This was no easy matter, for Napoleon's troops were supporting the pope in Rome, and the ambassadors of all the conti-

nental Powers left Turin; only England showed its approval of these events in vigorous cheering words from Lord Palmerston. Desire for friendship with England soon brought a reconciliation between Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel, especially when the plebiscite of South Italy showed the strength of the popular demand for a constitutional monarchy. 1,700,000 affirmative votes, with only 11,000 negatives, showed the desire of South Italy for unity with North Italy under the rule of Victor Emmanuel (October 21, 1860).

In the following month the Papal provinces of Umbria and the Marches voted almost unanimously for union with Victor Emmanuel's realm; and in spite of renewed spiritual denunciations by the helpless pope, they formed the connecting link between South and North Italy. Thus by the end of 1860 Italy was a great nation of 22,000,000 inhabitants. On the 16th March 1861 Victor Emmanuel, according to a vote of the Turin Parliament, took the title of **King of Italy.** The new kingdom was at once recognised by England and more tardily by the continental Powers, which feared to offend their Catholic subjects. The liberator of South Italy had at once retired to his island home of Caprera, in order not to embarrass the new government by his presence at Naples; and, indeed, the moral and intellectual torpor of South Italy made its union with the vigorous North a matter of great difficulty. The supporters of the fallen dynasty long encouraged brigandage, which was, and still is, the curse of South Italy. Even now Calabria is a century behind Piedmont in progress and civilisation.

The statesman who had so skilfully directed Italian aspirations after unity did not live to see it quite completed. "Rome is the natural capital of Italy," he said in the Turin Parliament, and he longed to see there "a free Church in a

free State"; but he succumbed to his great exertions, and died on June 6, 1861. His diplomatic skill had used Napoleon's autocratic power and had guided Garibaldi's republican zeal alike, towards the one object of uniting Italy under a constitutional monarchy. His successors at Turin, first Ricasoli, then Rattazzi, were unequal to the task of keeping Garibaldi from flying at the French troops which supported the pope at Rome. His energetic hand was needed to restore order to the finances, which for several years showed enormous deficits; and Victor Emmanuel soon after his death had cause to say, "If Cavour had lived we should have been at Rome in six months."

Aspromonte.—Napoleon had consented to the spoliation of the Papal States in 1859 and 1860, and for this was abused by the clericals as "the new Pilate"; but he was determined to support the pope at Rome and its immediate vicinity, because the French troops at Rome gave France preponderating power in the peninsula. But as Napoleon often changed his purposes the Rattazzi ministry formed at Turin in March 1862 allowed Garibaldi to start a campaign in Sicily which was to overthrow the pope if Napoleon allowed it. The cry of "Rome or death!" rang through all Italy. The hero's progress through Sicily was one long triumph. He was allowed to cross the Strait of Messina; but on the rugged Calabrian coast at Aspromonte he was stopped by the Italian royal troops, himself wounded and captured, and his followers dispersed (August 29, 1862). He was imprisoned at Spezzia, and soon allowed to retire to the seclusion of Caprera. This double-dealing on the part of Rattazzi, due to Napoleon's duplicity, created violent emotion among all patriots, and caused his fall and the formation of the Minghetti ministry, which hoped to win over the unstable French Emperor by diplomacy.

CHAPTER XL.

THE UNITY OF ITALY.

The September Convention (1864).—Napoleon had been stung by the taunts of Cardinal Antonelli, and, wishing to appease the wrath of all Liberals, he consented to withdraw the French troops from Rome within two years, provided that the Italians showed their renunciation of Rome as the national capital by removing the seat of government from Turin to Florence.[1] After this proposal was laid before the Turin Parliament, blood flowed in the streets of Turin, which for four centuries had been a capital. Minghetti gave way to a ministry under General La Marmora. It was forcibly urged, however, that Florence was safer than Turin from a French or Austrian invasion; and Florence was proclaimed the capital of Italy on April 26, 1865, an indemnity being paid to Turin for the loss it sustained. The French troops were gradually withdrawn from Rome to give the pope time to form a Papal army, composed of foreigners and officered mainly by Frenchmen, while the Italian kingdom was bound by the Convention not to attack the Papal territory.

Liberation of Venetia.—Cavour had warned his

[1] The Italians, however, regarded this removal as one stage on the road to Rome. History and geography pointed out Rome as the only possible capital for a united Italy, whatever the Convention might declare.

countrymen not to win any more territory by the aid of France, and the course of events pointed to Prussia as the ally which could aid Italy in driving out the Austrians from Venetia. The Italian Government had in 1865 made a favourable commercial treaty with the German Zollverein, and the hostility of both Prussia and Italy to Austria drew them together to an offensive and defensive alliance which was to bring salvation and unity to each of the allies (April 8, 1866). The La Marmora Cabinet, in spite of yearly deficits, borrowed 300,000,000 francs, and placed fleet and army on a war footing.

The campaign in Venetia was a failure. La Marmora, called to be commander-in-chief, divided the 200,000 Italian troops, part under Cialdini to invade Venetia near the mouth of the Po, part to advance over the Mincio against the 100,000 Austrians under Archduke Albrecht in the Quadrilateral, and part as reserve in Lombardy. He himself led the main body across the Mincio; but near the ill-omened field of Custozza, fatal to Italy in 1848, the Italians, superior in numbers, but wanting in steadiness and badly handled by La Marmora, were thoroughly beaten (June 24, 1866). All their forces had to retreat, and only a secret convention with Napoleon kept the Austrians from invading Lombardy. So a fortnight's truce ensued, during which Prussia won Venetia for Italy on the heights of Königgrätz. Garibaldi with his volunteers effected little in the hill country around the lakes, and in the Trent valley. He was defeated and wounded in a skirmish at Monte Suello. Finally, the Italian fleet under Persano, off the island of Lissa in the Adriatic, was defeated by a less powerful Austrian squadron under the brave old Tegetthof (July 20, 1866).

Francis Joseph hastily ceded Venetia to Napoleon, by

him to be handed over to Victor Emmanuel. In this humiliating way Italy gained all Venetia; but Garibaldi expressed the national feeling when he said, "Italy asks no veil to hide her dishonour." Yet Italy, by detaining 100,000 Austrian troops with their ablest general in Venetia, had aided Prussia's brilliant victories in Bohemia; and the Austrian Emperor showed that he felt this by seeking to appease Italy in order to save Vienna from the Prussians.[1] La Marmora and Ricasoli had to resign, and Rattazzi again formed a ministry of radicals.

Mentana.—By the end of 1866 Italy was entirely freed from foreign troops—for the first time since the old Roman Empire;[2] but Garibaldi, smarting under the defeats of 1866, longed to make a dash at the Papal legion which now defended Rome. The king's government was in honour bound by the September Convention of 1864 to prevent this, and had the restless hero conveyed to Caprera and there watched. Garibaldi escaped in an open boat during a foggy night to Sardinia, thence he passed to Leghorn, and was soon at the head of enthusiastic volunteers, so that the Rattazzi ministry feared, or pretended to fear, to arrest him while he was exciting the populace of Florence. Napoleon again intervened to protect the pope, and Rattazzi resigned office when French troops landed to protect Rome. These met and scattered the ill-armed Garibaldians at Mentana, near Rome (November 3, 1867). The Florence Government again arrested Garibaldi and soon allowed him to return to Caprera; while the French troops remained at Civita Vecchia to support the pope. Soon the imperial minister Rouher declared to the Corps Législatif that the Italians should "*never*" enter Rome. The active support of Prussia and the momentous

[1] See p. 297. [2] Gallenga, "Pope and king."

events of the year 1870 were to reveal the emptiness of Rouher's boast.

The Papal Power.—The pope had always jealously excluded representative government from his territory ever since the events of 1848 and 1849 had dispelled his Liberalism. The government was conducted by the cardinals who advised the pope. The Jesuits, whom he had driven from Rome when he granted a constitution (1848), were now in favour and urged him to assert his spiritual and temporal power. In all times those who wished to extend the pope's power across the Alps (*ultra montes*) were called Ultramontanes. This party sought to revive the waning prestige of the Papacy by an Œcumenical Council—*i.e.* one representing the "inhabited globe." So, in December 1869, 722 prelates assembled in the Council Hall of the Vatican at Rome and—in spite of some opposition from the Old Catholics of Germany—affirmed the doctrine of Papal infallibility in religion (July 14, 1870). Though the Papacy thus gained firmer hold over the Catholics of France and Germany, it was soon to lose its temporal power in Italy.

Rome the Capital.—The news of the Franco-German war and of the disaster of Sedan roused the "party of action" in Italy to a fever of excitement. The republicans in Rome and the followers of Mazzini, who had returned to Italy, threatened to expel the pope themselves. Victor Emmanuel's government arrested Mazzini, for it held itself bound by the September Convention of 1864 with Napoleon, though he had sent back French troops to occupy Rome. When these were withdrawn to France, and Napoleon's government collapsed in the street riot at Paris, the new French Foreign Minister, Jules Favre, a friend to Italy, did not oppose the king's march on Rome.

So Victor Emmanuel marched on Rome "to maintain order, and secure the safety of His Holiness." The pope ordered his 12,000 troops to resist, so as to show force was offered to the pontiff; but on September 20, 1870, the Italian troops pressed into Rome through a breach near the Porta Pia, and Rome was won for Italy. The Papal troops, mostly French or Irish, were marched out of Rome and sent away by sea; while the pope was to retain full power over the spacious Vatican and its precincts. What he lost in temporal power he gained in spiritual power, which was no longer associated with a despotic rule upheld by mercenary troops. Out of 175,000 voters in the Papal States only 1500 voted against union with Italy.

A new National Assembly decreed that Rome should be the capital, and Victor Emmanuel took his residence in the Quirinal Palace, July 2, 1871, the first ruler of a united Italy since the time of the old Roman Empire. Twelve years before he was only King of Sardinia: 1859-60 won Lombardy, the central duchies, and South Italy: 1866 saw Venetia freed: and now in 1870 the corner-stone was placed on the structure of Italian unity.

The Italians only needed the prestige of Rome as capital to become one of the great Powers. They were now one nation of twenty-five millions united in patriotism, though divided by sharp differences of dialect and social well-being. Rome, Naples, and all Southern Italy needed education, public works, and railways, to bring them up to a level with industrious Piedmont and Lombardy.

Italy had many difficulties to face—the bitter hostility of the pope, the jealousy which soon sprang up between South and North Italy, the brigandage and demoralisation of Sicily and South Italy, an enormous debt and yearly

deficit caused by lavish expenditure on the army and navy and on a crowd of new officials.[1]

The first was the most serious. Victor Emmanuel, a good Catholic himself, had been forced by the popular demand to take Rome, or it would have been taken by Mazzini and have become a republic, as in 1848-49. But the king sincerely wished for a reconciliation with the Vatican. He engaged in his opening speech to the first Parliament in Rome (November 1871) to recognise "the fullest independence of the pope's spiritual authority." The pope, however, refused to withdraw his anathemas against his "spoliators," and to recognise the king's government at Rome. He even represented himself as a persecuted prisoner in the Vatican. The only really hostile act of the Italian Parliament at first was the abolition of monasteries in the Roman territory (1873). The clerical party sought to influence first Thiers, then MacMahon, against the Italian Government, but this only drove Victor Emmanuel to friendship with Germany and then with Austria (1873). This friendship with the central Powers has since ripened into a formal alliance (1882), which was brought about by the aggressive action of France towards Italy in seizing Tunis, and by the fear of Italy that Russia may advance southward to the Ægean and become a Mediterranean power. So Italy has spent vast sums on her army and navy. Compulsory military or naval service has been enforced, and numerous ironclads built at vast expense; but Italy's adhesion to the "League of Peace" has diminished the chances of aggressive war from France or Russia.

The expenses of the new government were so enormous that the people were weighed down by grinding taxation,

[1] At the ministry of Finance alone there was a staff of 4000 clerks.

such as the grist tax, the monopoly of salt and tobacco, the house tax, which in many towns was nearly half of the yearly rental, and by crushing import duties. In a few years the expenditure nearly doubled; but as it was largely on education and public improvements, the revenue eventually kept pace with it. The poverty of the peasants is still extreme, and brigandage, which was rife for many years in the south, has even now not disappeared in Sicily.

In 1876 the moderate party which continued the traditions of Cavour was overthrown in the Parliament by the advanced democrats. Mazzini had died at Pisa in 1872; but Garibaldi, on his return from his unfortunate enterprises in France (1870-1871), degenerated more and more into a rabid demagogue whose utterances in the Chamber pained his best friends. He died in 1882 at Caprera. Of his early comrades in arms, Nicotera, Crispi the Sicilian, and Cairoli, who had lost three brothers in the wars, have since formed democratic ministries which have quickly been dissolved or re-moulded. Depretis, Cairoli, or Crispi for many years headed a democratic ministry, which, however, has held fast to the central European alliance.[1] In other respects the Italian Chambers, founded on the French model, have followed French democrats in adopting almost universal suffrage and a sceptical attitude towards religion. But amidst many administrative blunders and much extravagance the Italian democrats have remained loyal to the House of Savoy.

At the beginning of the year 1878 Italy and Europe were deeply moved by the decease of two potentates in

[1] So these ministers did their best to stop the Italian "Irredentist" agitation for regaining all the Italian or south part of Tyrol and of the Dalmatian coast-line.

Rome. On January 9 the sturdy King Victor Emmanuel suddenly died at the Quirinal. A month afterwards in the Vatican the waning life of the aged Pope Pius IX slowly flickered out. On his accession to the Papal chair in 1846 he had been the hope of all Italian patriots; he ended his days protesting against the acts of the king who had led Italy from the defeat of Novara (1849) to the final triumph at Rome in 1870. In his public life Victor Emmanuel was the model of a constitutional sovereign. Brave and impetuous as he was, he loyally worked with his Parliament and ministers. Like King William of Prussia, he was a plain, straightforward man, who was carried along by the national impulse towards unity. By guiding this impulse, by cautiously attempting one thing at a time, and by gaining the help of foreign Powers, the "honest king" achieved a success which a more brilliant ruler might have missed. His eldest son Humbert found in the new pope, Leo XIII, a cautious but firm opponent, and the Vatican has never recognised the king's government in Rome.

In 1885 Italy sought to share in the partition of Africa by acquiring Massowah and neighbouring districts. The Abyssinians cut to pieces a small force at Dogali early in 1887; but in 1889 their ruler, Menelek, recognised the rights of Italy to the coast region. In 1894 war again broke out, and Menelek's forces dealt Italy a heavy blow at the battle of Adowa (February 29, 1896). She then evacuated Kassala, but still holds a large territory styled "Eritrea." She has also acquired part of Somaliland. On July 29, 1900, King Humbert was murdered by an anarchist at Monza. His only son, Victor Emmanuel III, succeeded him. Italy renewed her compact with the Central Powers in 1887, 1891, 1897, and 1902; but it now has little vitality.

CHAPTER XLI.

RUSSIA AND TURKEY.

Russia.	Turkey.
Nicholas, 1825-1855.	Mahmoud II, 1808-1839.
Alexander II, 1855-1881.	Abdul Meschid, 1839-1861.
Alexander III, 1881-1894.	Abdul Aziz, 1861-1876.
Nicholas II, 1894.	Murad V, 1876.
	Abdul Hamid II, 1876.

The Czar Nicholas, who succeeded his brother Alexander in December 1825, soon showed his vigorous masterful spirit by crushing a military rising in Moscow and Kiev. He then conquered the Turks (1828) and reduced them to a state of dependence on Russia, which the Treaty of Unkiar Iskelessi seemed to confirm. Further, he in 1831 stamped out the Polish insurrection; but in 1840 the active intervention of Lord Palmerston in favour of the Sultan against his rebellious Egyptian vassal led to the "Treaty of the Straits" (1840), which freed the Sultan from the influence of Russia and confirmed him in possession of Syria. This had been brought about by the short-sighted adhesion of the Czar Nicholas to English intervention, which was backed by Austria and Prussia in a quadruple alliance.

The semi-Asiatic character of the Russian State and people secured her from the convulsions of 1848, for Poland remembered 1831 with terror, and Turkey was in

a comparative calm; but the Eastern Question was soon to break out in one of its many phases.

The Crimean War. — In January 1853 the Czar Nicholas said in conversation with the English ambassador in St. Petersburg, in reference to Turkey, "We have a sick man on our hands, whom no doctor can cure," and he hinted that Moldavia and Wallachia might, after his speedy decease, come under a Russian protectorate, while Bulgaria, Servia, and Bosnia might become "independent" States (of course subservient to Russia). If England was inclined to take Egypt and Crete, he had no objection to her taking such compensation. In making these overtures the czar knew that Lord Aberdeen's ministry was inclined to peace almost at any price, and had abandoned the vigorous support of Turkey which Palmerston had given. The English ambassador denied that Turkey was in such a desperate condition, and refused any share in the bargain. Nicholas had also offended Napoleon III by refusing to call him "my brother" in his diplomatic addresses; and the latter, impelled also by motives of policy, saw in the dispute about the "holy places" a means of slighting or overcoming the czar.

The pilgrims of the Greek and Roman Catholic Churches had disputes as to their rights at Jerusalem, and Napoleon III proposed to the sultan that he should give the Romish pilgrims larger rights than to the more numerous pilgrims of the Greek Church, who were championed by the czar. Nicholas retorted by sending Prince Menschikoff to Constantinople to claim for Russia a religious protectorate over all Greek Christians in the Turkish dominions. The imperious Menschikoff came in overcoat and riding-boots to claim this from the Turkish Council of State (or Divan), and on a firm refusal being

given he departed with threats, while the Sultan Abdul Meschid by a firman or decree confirmed his Christian subjects in their rights before the law. Nicholas at once marched 40,000 Russians across the Pruth to hold Moldavia and Wallachia as a "pledge" from the Porte. Thereupon the British ministry ordered its Mediterranean fleet to Besika Bay at the mouth of the Dardanelles, and placed it at the disposal of the British ambassador at Constantinople, Sir Stratford de Redcliffe, an able and ambitious man bitterly hated by the czar.

The diplomatists of the great Powers assembled at Vienna to ward off war, but in vain: Russia and Turkey held to their extreme demands, for the czar believed that Austria and Prussia would certainly support him, while the Turks trusted to the active aid of England and France. Finally Turkey declared war in case the Russian troops did not evacuate its Danubian territory (October 4, 1853). Russia declared war on November 1. The Turkish troops under Omar Pacha gained a success over the Russians at Oltenizza (November 4), but a Turkish squadron was attacked and destroyed by the Russian admiral Nakhimoff at Sinope (November 30, 1853).

The people of England were now carried away by a generous enthusiasm to aid Turkey in her struggle against the overwhelming power of Russia, for they remembered how Russia had crushed the Poles in 1831 and the Hungarians in 1849. They thought this to be the best opportunity for curbing the power of the despot of Eastern Europe, and believed in the sincerity of the Turkish promises of reform and good government. In March 1854 England and France declared war against Russia, in order to protect Turkey and restore the balance of power threatened by Russia. The unbending czar met with two other

disappointments—viz. the failure of the Christians of Turkey to rise in support of their deliverers, and the independent attitude which the young Austrian emperor was taking.

The Servians, Bulgarians, and Bosnians did not rise against the Turkish yoke, as they saw the Russians were beaten back by the Turks at Oltenizza, and again at Cetate, near Kalafat. The Turkish garrison at Silistria, supported by English and German officers, foiled the Russian general Paskiewitch, who finally withdrew his troops across the Danube (June 21, 1854), and even across the Pruth. This was caused by the ravages of disease among his troops and by the threatening attitude of the Austrian troops in the Carpathians on the Russian rear; and these now, to the chagrin of the czar, advanced through the Carpathian passes and occupied Moldavia and Wallachia. The young Austrian emperor had broken away from the tutelage of the czar, who, since his services in 1849, had said, "Whatever I say also holds good for Austria." In fact, Austria was deeply concerned in the Eastern Question, for she had over 3,000,000 Roumanians and Serbs in her southern borderlands, beside 18,000,000 Slavonians in the whole Empire.

It seemed again that peace might be restored; for though an English and French force had landed at Varna (July 1854) they found no foe but the cholera, which swept off their troops. But the French emperor, as well as the English people, desired to cripple Russia. So the expedition made a sudden descent on the Crimea to destroy the fortress of Sevastopol, which menaced Turkey. The English forces were led by Lord Raglan, who lost an arm at Waterloo, whose calm courage and unfailing tact never failed him through all the troubles and disputes of this campaign. The French commander was St. Arnaud, who had aided

Napoleon in the *coup d'état.* He soon succumbed to cholera, and was succeeded by Canrobert.

The allied forces, 25,000 English, 23,000 French, and some 5000 Turks, landed in the Crimea south of Eupatoria, and stormed the heights of the Alma, held by an almost equal force of Russians under Prince Menschikoff (September 20, 1854). The latter now stopped up the mouth of Sevastopol harbour by sinking his war-ships, and prepared for a defence; but the allies were hindered by divided counsels, insufficient stores, and above all by the cholera. A sudden dash would have seized the north side of Sevastopol harbour, which was only defended by a few forts; but the allied army made the dangerous march round to the southern side, so as to be near their ships in the harbour of Balaclava. Meanwhile the fortifications of Sevastopol had been strengthened by earthworks planned by the engineer Todleben, a German in the Russian service; and as the north side was not besieged Russian reinforcements constantly came in: so that the might of Eastern and Western Europe was concentrated in this extraordinary siege.[1]

Balaclava—Inkermann.—On the 17th October 1854 a bombardment of the Sevastopol forts by the allied fleets was repelled, and the Russians on the 25th October sought to drive the allies back on their fleet at Balaclava. After a struggle marred by strange blunders on both sides, but redeemed on ours by two splendid charges of the Heavy Brigade and the Light Brigade of cavalry, the Russian attack was repulsed. In the early morning mist of the 4th November, 40,000 Russians, swarming up the heights from the Inkermann valley, pressed in on the English lines, and though our 6000 men stoutly contested every foot of ground, they

[1] It was really an attack and defence, for the fortress was never invested on all sides.

were being slowly driven back to their camp, when the French under Bosquet brought reinforcements. Then the

Russians, taken in flank and decimated by artillery fire, were hurled back with the loss of 10,000 men. The allies lost nearly 5000.

The winter was now the most terrible foe to the allies, who were badly provided with needful supplies, for their ships had been shattered in a terrible storm on November 14. The English public, indignant at official mismanagement, called for a more vigorous ministry, and Lord Palmerston replaced the pacific Lord Aberdeen. Soon a railway was laid from Balaclava harbour to the allied camps.

The Russian reinforcements, toiling painfully along to the south, lost heavily, and out of the quarter of a million men which Russia lost in this struggle, by far the most succumbed to cold or disease. These troubles wore out the Czar Nicholas, who died (March 2, 1855), and was succeeded by his eldest son, the more peaceable **Alexander II.**

Fall of Sevastopol.—The allied squadrons had effected nothing of importance in the Gulf of Finland except the bombardment of Bomarsund on the Aland island and of Sveaborg in August 1854; but in the Black Sea the English fleet silenced the forts at Kertch, forced the straits there, and destroyed Russian supplies and stores along the shores of the Sea of Azov (June 1855).

Meanwhile Todleben had strengthened Sevastopol by numerous earthworks, especially by the great Malakoff work. The defenders now numbered some 150,000 men, and the allies 170,000, including 15,900 Sardinians. Austria also signed a conditional compact with the allies. Canrobert, exhausted by the siege, resigned in favour of the more resolute Pelissier, and in June 1855 Lord Raglan's death by cholera placed General Simpson at the head of the English forces. His death had been accelerated by the failure on June 18 of the first attack on the Malakoff and Redan works, which cost the allies some 6000 men; but a Russian sortie along the valley of the Tchernaya was beaten back by the French and Sardinian troops; and after a terrible bombardment by the allies the Malakoff was taken by the French under MacMahon, though our troops could not keep the Redan against the fearful fire poured into it. As the Malakoff tower, the key of the defence, had been taken, Gortschakoff, then governor, blew up the rest of his forts on the south side, sank his remaining ships, and retired to a strong position on the north side of the harbour (September 8, 1855). The allies captured immense stores of war material, including 4000 cannons, and destroyed the capacious docks, hewn by the Russians at great cost out of the solid rock.

In Asia General Muravieff forced Kars to surrender after a brilliant defence by the English general Williams;

but Russia was exhausted by these conflicts at her extremities, where alone she was most vulnerable, for she had to send vast armies by road thousands of miles. Her advance down the Amour river on the Pacific coast of Siberia had been checked by an allied expedition, and her trade in the White, Baltic, and Black Seas had been stopped. Napoleon III had now revenged his uncle's memory, and England saw Turkey free to work out her own destiny. So a Conference of all the Powers, including also Sardinia, arranged the **Peace of Paris** (March 1856): (1) Russia was to lose a strip of land north of the mouth of the Danube, the navigation of which was freed from her control; (2) The Black Sea was declared neutral—that is, free to all merchant ships, but closed to all war-ships, and no warlike arsenal was to be erected on its shores; (3) Russia renounced her protectorate over the Danubian States, and over the religion of the Greek Church in Turkey.

On its side, Turkey renewed the privileges previously proclaimed (1839), but never practised, to Christians in Turkey; but the equality before the law of all its subjects was as far from a reality as ever. The massacres of Christians at Damascus and in the Lebanon under the eyes of its pachas (1860) showed the worth of its promises.

Roumania.—Abdul Meschid died, June 1861, a worn-out debauchee. His successor, Abdul Aziz, sought to strengthen his country by building a navy.. On the pressure of the Powers he had to consent to the union of Moldavia and Wallachia, thence called the Principality of Roumania, from the name of its people, the Roumans (1861).[1] This

[1] These people claim to be descended from the ancient Roman colonists planted there to keep back the Scythians. Their language is a corrupt Latin.

State henceforth was ruled by one prince, or hospodar, and by one Assembly, with a free constitution. The first Prince of Roumania, Alexander Kusa, was deposed owing to his wilful extravagance. Then Prince Charles of Hohenzollern was elected and was recognised by the Porte as hereditary Prince of Roumania. Thus was founded another of those States which seem destined to fill the place of the Ottoman Empire in Europe.

Alexander II—Liberation of the Serfs.—The new czar was thirty-seven years old when he succeeded his father Nicholas. His mother was the eldest daughter of Frederick William III of Prussia; and Alexander was always friendly with his uncles, Frederick William IV and William I. of Prussia. This family relationship kept Russian and Prussian policy in close accord down to 1877. As soon as peace was assured, Alexander sought to heal the distress caused by the war by building railroads (the want of which had cost Russia thousands of men in the war), by commercial treaties, and by improving the education of his subjects, whom he sought to divest of their semi-Asiatic habits.

The great blot on Russia, however, was that out of a population of nearly 70,000,000 in European Russia over 25,000,000 were serfs, who were the property of their masters. There were many difficulties in Alexander's way. The whole country was discontented at the result of the Crimean War, and at the epidemics which the troops brought back. Many of the landowners were ruined by the war, and all were impoverished. The revolutionists, who desired to sweep away every vestige of the existing order of things, sought to undermine the government; but Alexander held on his way in spite of the opposition of his own family and of the landowners.

Alexander first freed the serfs on the imperial domains, and in March 1861 proclaimed the liberation of all serfs in Russia. The sum of £100,000,000 was to be paid as compensation to the landowners, which they were expected to expend on improvements on their estates, but they spent much of it in France or Italy. Those landowners suffered most who had been harsh masters, for now their former serfs would not work for them as hired labourers. Four-fifths of the £100,000,000 were raised by foreign loans, and the remaining one-fifth by a tax on the village communes, which henceforth were to govern themselves. The serfs could become the owners of their cottage and plot of land by paying a tax or by working two days a week for their former masters.

Zemstvos, or local assemblies, were also established to accustom the peasants to self-government and pave the way for a constitution in the future.

Alexander caused schools to be founded in all districts, and he increased the scope of the universities by throwing them open to all classes, but they soon became centres of agitation. He instituted trial by jury and a juster procedure in 1864. All these reforms exasperated the nobles and filled the revolutionists with wild hopes. Incendiary fires raged in some large towns, and the czar's life was the object of many attacks.

The Polish Revolt. — The dissensions in Russia encouraged the Poles to strike once more for their liberty. In 1861 there had been bloody conflicts in Warsaw. Alexander still hoped to pacify that unhappy land by local institutions; but a severe recruiting law caused a savage outbreak in January 1863. A National Committee in Warsaw appointed as dictator first General Mieroslawski, then, when he was defeated, Langiewicz, who fared no

better. Lithuania also joined Poland in the struggle for their ancient liberties. But Prussia, for dynastic and State reasons, helped Russia. Thus the czar paid little heed to three representations which England, France, and Austria made on behalf of the Polish demands for local independence under the rule of the czar.

The Russian general Muravieff even set a price on the heads of the insurgents; these were gradually scattered, slain, or driven over the Austrian frontier (October 1863). Then order was restored in Lithuania and Poland by imprisonments and fines, laid even on the Polish Catholic clergy, which had for the most part favoured the revolt.

Expansion of Russia.—Alexander II still persevered with his reforms in Russia, though the freed peasants, finding their poverty as great as ever, showed their disappointment in many acts of violence. In April 1867 he sold Alaska, or Russian America, to the United States for $7,200,000, and strove by publishing the State Budget every year to improve Russian credit, which had been very low. The czar's good understanding with the Prussian monarch kept Russia at peace during the wars of 1866 and 1870; and in the latter he put secret pressure on Austria to prevent her joining France against Prussia.

The Black Sea Conference.—Russia's rising power, her friendship with Prussia, and the overthrow of Napoleon, led her to seize 1870 as the time when she might regain her rights on the Black Sea surrendered in the Treaty of Paris (1856). Neither England nor France was in a condition to contest her claim; and in a conference of the Powers held at London (1871), Russia regained her rights to keep ships of war on the Black Sea (though not to pass through the Bosphorus) and to build dockyards and arsenals on its shores. In 1872 Bismarck's desire to weld Central and

Eastern Europe against a French war of revenge brought the three Emperors of Germany, Russia, and Austria together at Berlin (September 1872); and the Czar, laying aside his dislike of Austria, which had lasted ever since her policy during the Crimean War, entered into a tacit understanding known as the "Three Emperors' League," which aimed mainly at combating Nihilistic and revolutionary ideas in the three empires. The czar also extended the elementary school system of Russia, adopted the system of compulsory military service (1874), and extended his conquests in Turkestan. General Kaufmann, with 14,000 men, sixty cannons, and some thousands of camels, overthrew the forces of the Khan of Khiva, and occupied his capital (June 1873). The khanate was made first a vassal State, and then soon annexed altogether, along with that of Khokand (1875). Early in 1881 an expedition under General Skobeleff took Geok Tepé, a stronghold of the Turkomans near the Persian frontier. The Russians pushed on to Merv in 1881, and Sarrakhs. These advances towards Afghanistan had alarmed Lord Beaconsfield's Government, which by the campaigns of 1878-1880 attempted to occupy that rugged country.

Russia had also gained territory south of the Amour on the Pacific coast, where she constructed the port of Vladivostock. But it was from her hereditary foe, Turkey, that she had gained most.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE EASTERN QUESTION.

"O smallest among peoples! rough rock-throne
Of Freedom! warriors beating back the swarm
Of Turkish Islam for five hundred years."
TENNYSON, *Ode to Montenegro.*

THE "eternal" Eastern Question was revived by a serious revolt of the Herzegovinians, a warlike people who dwelt in a rugged part of Bosnia next to the Dalmatian frontier.

The Eastern Question may be briefly described as the struggle of the Christian populations of Turkey, first to regain the lands and rights which the Turks wrested from them in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and then to range themselves with their Greek or Slavonic kinsmen. The question thus concerned not only the Christians of Turkey, but also Russia and Austria, who might gain or lose by these national movements.

Greece had been the first to cut herself free from Turkish rule; but the Greeks of Thessaly, Epirus, and South Macedonia were still under the Turkish yoke, and all Greeks longed to regain Constantinople as their capital, lost in 1453.

North of the Balkans the question was far more complicated. There the Slavonic races were divided in language and sympathies. The Roumans, mainly

Slavonic in descent, though they claimed to be descended from the Roman military colonists, had in 1861 achieved their unity and independence complete in all but name. They had also adopted a new democratic constitution, which soon influenced the other Slavonic races. Servia had for ages borne the brunt of Turkish attacks and tyranny. In 1861 its Prince Michael, of the House of Obrenovitch, called a Skuptschina, or National Assembly, to organise a national militia and prepare a form of government like that which Roumania was trying; and Prince Michael persuaded the Skuptschina to declare the rule of his family hereditary. In June 1862 the Servians of Belgrade drove the Turks into the citadel, which then fired on the town. A Conference was held at Constantinople, according to which the Turkish troops left Belgrade. The excitement spread in 1862 to the Greek Christians of Herzegovina, in the south-east corner of Bosnia, and it needed a large Turkish force under their best general, Omar Pacha, to quell the discontent; for in this remote and rugged district the rebels easily passed over into Dalmatia or Montenegro, and returned to renew the war when it seemed stamped out. The tiny State of Montenegro, inhabited by a fierce, hardy race, half patriot, half brigand, had always resisted the inroads of the Turks into its mountain gorges; but the Turks in 1862 compelled the Prince Nikita to a peace. In Albania the half Greek, half Moslem population was always ready for revolt, as was seen in the days of Ali Pacha (1825). The Greek Christians of Bulgaria, cowed by the Turkish garrisons of Shumla, Silistria, Rustchuk, and Widdin, had hitherto not shown such signs of a national awakening as the other Slavonic and Greek subjects of the Porte. The Bulgars originally came from the banks of the Volga, with which their name is connected

They are thought to have been of Asiatic descent, but have become completely Slavonic in language and sentiment. Their perseverance in resisting Turkish oppression, and their subsequent bravery on the field of battle, have placed them high among the races of the Balkan Peninsula.

Herzegovina—Servian War.—In the summer of 1875 the Herzegovinians rose against the arbitrary and oppressive Turkish taxation, and against the Turkish "Begs" or landowners. Servia and Montenegro fed the revolt, which Turkish troops could not repress before the bitter winter in those mountains stopped the operations. The Porte then sought to avert the intervention of the continental Powers by granting paper reforms in taxation and government; but Austria, Germany, and Russia drew up what was called the Andrassy Note (from the name of the Austrian chancellor), which claimed local popular representation and the rights of citizenship. The Porte accepted it, but the insurgent chiefs rejected it as containing no guarantees for enforcement of these rights. So the struggle went on. The fanaticism of the Moslems was seen in the massacre at Salonica of the French and German consuls. A week later (May 13, 1875) the continental Powers drew up the Berlin Note, requiring the Porte to put an end to this struggle by giving guarantees for the execution of its reforms; but when Mr. Disraeli's Cabinet refused assent to this Note as derogatory to the Porte's authority over its own subjects, the well-meant intervention also unfortunately failed; for the Turks believed Great Britain to be on their side, especially when our Mediterranean fleet was sent to Besika Bay, as it had been in 1854.

Meanwhile the Bulgarians and Servians were deeply excited by all these events, and on May 4 the Bulgarians rose against their Turkish oppressors; while Prince Milan

(entitled Prince of Servia in 1868) called Ristics, the head of the "party of action," to power, and prepared for war. Turkey seemed to have lost control of her lands north of the Balkans, but she sent fierce Circassians and Bashi-Bazouks and stamped out the Bulgarian revolt by massacres in which at least 12,000 peaceable men, women, and children perished. The Servian army attempted to help the Bulgarians, but it was beaten back over its frontiers to the fortress of Alexinatz. In spite of swarms of Russian volunteers which poured in to help them, the Servians were worsted in contests of nine days. On October 21 Ignatief, the Russian ambassador at Constantinople, demanded a truce of six weeks in favour of the Servians; and a Conference of the Powers met there to try to avert a European war.

Changes in Constantinople.—A new impulse of national life seemed to have sprung up at Constantinople during these excitements. A demonstration of the Softas, or students of the Koran, compelled the lazy and spend-thrift Sultan Abdul Aziz to call the reformer Midhat Pacha to the highest office of the State; and on May 30, 1876, a palace revolution deposed the sultan to make way for Murad V, nephew of his predecessor. A few days after, the deposed sultan committed suicide by opening his veins with scissors. But the new sovereign, being quite unequal to the burden placed on his shoulders, was deposed in favour of his brother Abdul Hamid (August 31, 1876).

A truce having been concluded with Servia, the Conference duly assembled at Constantinople (December 1876), when the Porte proclaimed a constitution with equal civil and religious rights for all its subjects; and, encouraged by Lord Beaconsfield's speech at the Guildhall, London (November 9, 1876), it refused the demands of the Conference, and assumed a warlike tone.

Russo-Turkish War.—Both countries now advanced their troops to the Danube, and Roumania joined Russia on condition of having the integrity of its country unimpaired, while Servia, lately rescued from the result of her rashness, was ready to renew her attack on Turkey. On April 24, 1877, Russia declared war. In Asia the Russians advanced rapidly on Kars, which they besieged, and even on Erzeroum. In May the Turks, reinforced, drove them back from Kars, but they in their turn advanced too far from their base, and were utterly defeated in October and lost Kars (November 1877). The Turkish ironclad fleet, from which so much was expected, effected next to nothing under the command of Hobart Pacha; but on the land the fluctuations in the contest were intensely exciting.

The German strategist Moltke had said that the passage of the Danube would cost the Russians 60,000 men; but owing to the carelessness and apathy of the Turks they crossed with trifling loss (June 27) near Galatz and Sistova, and at once seized Nicopolis. In order to rescue the Bulgarians from another massacre the Russians now made a rush with small forces to Tirnova, and General Gourko even seized the Shipka pass over the Balkans (July 19).

Plevna.—All the Turkish generals had hitherto seemed helpless. Their forces were in two parts—the eastern part near the fortress of Shumla, the western near Widdin. Osman Pacha, in command of the latter force, had hitherto maintained a cautiously defensive attitude, but he now marched east and fortified himself in a strong position at Plevna, on the Russian flank, with 20,000 men. The Russian Grand Duke Nicholas attacked him there, but was completely beaten; a second and far fiercer attack on 31st July was equally unsuccessful, for Osman had by this time been reinforced, and had thrown up formidable earthworks on

the circle of hills round Plevna; so the repeating rifles of his troops told with terrible effect on the dense masses of Russians. The aspect of the campaign changed at once. The Russian troops, which had pressed up to and across the Shipka pass, had now to struggle desperately to hold it against Suleiman Pacha. The czar had to call in the aid of the Roumanian troops, and to send for reinforcements from Russia. A new series of attacks by Russians and Roumanians on the Plevna redoubts only resulted in a loss of 16,000 men (September 10-12). The czar in despair sent for Todleben, the hero of the defence of Sevastopol, and soon Plevna was invested. Meanwhile the Russians kept their hold on the Shipka pass for four months in spite of Turkish attacks, and the Turkish army around Shumla did little to help the gallant Osman. The Russians, directed by Todleben and led by their fighting general Skobeloff, won point after point, and reduced the defenders almost to starvation; till at last, after a five hours' fight with his 40,000 against 100,000 Russians and Roumanians, Osman had to surrender (December 10, 1877). The battles around Plevna were more sanguinary than even those round Metz, or than any one series of battles of the whole century.

San Stefano.—Then the Russians poured across the Balkans, opposed only by the snowstorms of winter. Servia declared war, and Greece began to muster her troops against Turkey, while in Asia the Russians had captured Kars (November 18), and were now nearing Erzeroum, the capital of Armenia. On January 20, 1878, the Russians reached Adrianople, and on February 10 were in sight of Constantinople. The British Government, alarmed at this advance, made in spite of an armistice signed at Adrianople (January 31), hastily ordered its fleet

up the Dardanelles for the defence of Constantinople. The panic-stricken Turks hastily signed the preliminaries of peace with Russia at San Stefano, near Constantinople (March 3, 1878), the principal terms of which were that Roumania, Servia, and Bulgaria should be independent States, the latter extending from the Danube nearly to Adrianople and Salonica. Old Servia, or the upper part of the valley of the Morava, was to be added to Servia; Bosnia was to enjoy autonomy under the suzerainty of the sultan. These terms would have left Turkey mistress only over Albania and a strip of land along the Ægean Sea. England, with the support of Austria, protested energetically against this dismemberment, and until May 1878 it seemed that a European war would break forth. The English reserves were called out and Indian troops brought to Malta; but Russia had lost heavily in men and money, and the peace-loving czar submitted to the revision of these terms at a Congress of the European Powers at Berlin, where Prince Bismarck had offered his services as the "honest broker" to bring about an understanding.

Treaty of Berlin.—It needed all Prince Bismarck's diplomatic skill to bring Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury to terms with the Russian envoys at Berlin; but eventually he induced both parties to remit something of their demands and objections, while Austria secured the post of guardian of the Balkan Peninsula.

(1) Bosnia, including Herzegovina, was assigned to Austria for permanent occupation. Thus Turkey lost a great province of nearly 1,250,000 inhabitants. Of these about 500,000 were Christians of the Greek Church, 450,000 were Mohammedans, mainly in the towns, who offered a stout resistance to the Austrian troops, and 200,000 Roman Catholics. By the occupation of the Novi-Bazar district

Austria wedged in her forces between Montenegro and Servia, and was also able to keep watch over the turbulent province of Macedonia.

(2) Montenegro received less than the San Stefano terms had promised her, but secured the seaports of Antivari and Dulcigno. It needed a demonstration of the European fleets off the latter port, and a threat to seize Smyrna, to make the Turks yield Dulcigno to the Montenegrians (who alone of all the Christian races of the peninsula had never been conquered by the Turks).

(3) Servia was proclaimed an independent Principality, and received the district of Old Servia on the upper valley of the Morava.

(4) Roumania also gained her independence and ceased to pay any tribute to the Porte, but had to give up to her Russian benefactors the slice acquired from Russia in 1856 between the Pruth and the northern mouth of the Danube. In return for this sacrifice she gained the large but marshy Dobrudscha district from Bulgaria, and so acquired the port of Kustendje on the Black Sea.

(5) Bulgaria, which, according to the San Stefano terms, would have been an independent State as large as Roumania, was by the Berlin Treaty subjected to the suzerainty of the sultan, divided into two parts, and confined within much narrower limits. Besides the Dobrudscha, it lost the northern or Bulgarian part of Macedonia, and the Bulgarians who dwelt between the Balkans and Adrianople were separated from their kinsfolk on the north of the Balkans, in a province called Eastern Roumelia, with Philippopolis as capital. The latter province was to remain Turkish, under a Christian governor nominated by the Porte with the consent of the Powers. Turkey was allowed to occupy the passes of the Balkans in time of war.

(6) In Asia, Russia gained the districts of Kars, Ardahan, and Batoum, despite the opposition of the British envoys to the acquisition of the last important port.

Cyprus.—Scarcely had the Berlin Treaty been signed (July 13, 1878) when Europe was astonished by the publication of a secret convention made by the British Government with the Porte in the previous month. By this the former acquired the right to occupy Cyprus for as long a time as Russia retained possession of Kars and Batoum. It further agreed to aid the Porte in the defence of its Asiatic frontier against a Russian attack under certain conditions, and to pay to the Porte a yearly tribute for Cyprus equal to the surplus of revenue over expenditure. Turkey promised good government for the Christians of Asia Minor.

The Danubian States.—Turkey, in addition to all these losses, had to pay a war indemnity which she was quite powerless to raise, and the Russian statesmen have been able to extort fresh sacrifices by demands for payment of arrears which amount to £32,000,000. The States liberated from Turkish rule were to have taken their share of this huge Turkish debt, but they have paid little or no interest. The supine Turkish Government has made no efforts to carry into effect the reforms promised with such *éclat;* but the Russian Government with equal folly contrived to alienate the Bulgarians and Roumanians by a meddling and overbearing policy.

The Bulgarian National Assembly or Sobranje chose Prince Alexander of Battenberg[1] as the first Prince of Bulgaria. The government was constitutional, so the Mohammedans in Bulgaria retained their liberty, though they lost their exclusive privileges. In 1881 the prince,

[1] Son of Prince Alexander of Hesse Darmstadt, who was brother of the czarina.

finding the democratic constitution unworkable owing to the actions of the pro-Russian ministry and party, freed himself of these ministers, and succeeded in strengthening the princely authority, to which the Assembly agreed (1881). In September 1885 the South Bulgarians declared for a union with the State of Bulgaria, and after some demurring from the Powers which signed the Treaty of Berlin, the union was acknowledged, but Servia, grudging her sister State this increase of territory, wantonly invaded Bulgaria, only to meet with an ignominious repulse by the troops of Prince Alexander, which nearly cost King Milan his throne. Russia did not forgive Prince Alexander for acting without her sanction, and her agents concocted a plot to kidnap and carry him away (August 1886). On his return to Sofia he received a hearty welcome; but, on receiving further proofs of the czar's hatred, he abdicated.

Russia had so abused her influence over the affairs of the Danubian States that they soon began to turn to Austria and the Central Alliance. After visits to Berlin Prince Charles of Roumania and Prince Milan of Servia had taken the title of King in 1881 and 1882 respectively. In every other part of Europe, since the beginning of this century, the greatest political difficulties had been solved by peoples of the same great race drawing closer to each other; but the Roumanians, who pride themselves on their descent from the Romans, separate the Slavs of the Balkan Peninsula from Russia; and in spite of many internal jealousies and difficulties, it seems as if the ultimate solution of the Eastern Question in the lands north of the Balkans will be found in a confederation of Roumania, Bulgaria, and Servia. These would be strong enough both to resist Russian dictation and to stop her advance to Constantinople by way of the Danube, which they could defend with 300,000 troops.

South of the Balkans the Eastern Question is still unsettled, and the province of Macedonia is the most distracted part of all Europe. There the Bulgarians in the north and the Greeks in the south long for deliverance from the helpless and corrupt Turkish officials; but their own feuds are so keen that the sultan's rule endures.

Expansion of Greece.—In 1862 a revolution broke out at Athens and King Otho abdicated. A Danish prince was then elected with the title of George I, and to consolidate his power England renounced her protectorate over the Ionian Isles, which were then added to the Grecian realm. The present democratic constitution was framed in 1864, and Greece in spite of its narrow limits and political strifes made steady progress, but the Greeks of Thessaly and Crete struggled vainly to throw off the Turkish yoke and unite with their brethren. In 1880 Greece armed to invade Thessaly, but the dispute was referred to the Powers, who prevailed on Turkey to evacuate Thessaly and a strip of land on the east of Epirus (1881). Greece now numbers nearly two millions of inhabitants, but she still longs for the whole coast of the Ægean Sea, and hopes one day to recover Constantinople and Southern Macedonia; but there she is confronted by the hostility of Bulgarians and Albanians.

Russian Nihilism.—The Berlin Treaty was a great blow to the Russian Panslavists, who wish to see the Slavonic inhabitants of Austria and the Danubian States welded on to Russia, so as to form one Panslavonic Empire, which would then comprise all Russia, all the Danubian States, together with Galicia, Moravia, Bohemia, Croatia, and Slavonia. Instead of this sweeping result Russia actually gained less than Austria, which had not fought at all. The Russian troops also had been astonished to find that the oppressed Bulgarians were living in greater comfort than the

Russian peasants. So amidst the financial exhaustion caused by the late war the revolutionists again found their chance. The extremists were called nihilists, for their founder, Bakunin, had said in his manifesto of 1868, "Our first work must be the annihilation of everything as it now exists, for if but an atom of this old world remains the new will never be created." They were a small but determined band of enthusiasts, driven to frenzy by their loathing of the autocratic system. Even the good-natured Alexander II had not mitigated this, so they assassinated several officials, and many times aimed at his life. In their second attempt they nearly succeeded in blowing up the czar's train as it passed along an embankment near Moscow, and soon they actually blew up part of the czar's Winter Palace at St. Petersburg, though the czar and his family escaped the death which overtook many servants and guards (February 1880). The czar then appointed Loris Melikoff to a dictatorship for crushing out the nihilists; but hangings, exile, imprisonments, and the promises of reforms were equally useless. As the czar was driving along near the Winter Palace a bomb was thrown under his carriage, wounding one of his Cossacks and several bystanders. With his usual disregard of his own safety Alexander was inquiring about the wounded men, when a nihilist threw another bomb which shattered the czar's legs, so that he scarcely lived to reach his palace (March 13, 1881). So died the liberator of the serfs, in his sixty-third year, when he was intending to crown his reign by granting a constitution to Russia. (Continued in Chapter XLV.)

CHAPTER XLIII.

FRANCE (1880-1900).

In Chapter XXXV we considered the events that led to the establishment of the Republic in France and the election of M. Jules Grévy as President—an event which seemed to end all chance of a military *coup d'état.* It remains to pass in review the chief facts of French history during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

As has already appeared, the occupation of Tunis by France in 1881 rendered impossible an alliance with Italy. The Roman Cabinet, turning to Germany and Austria, framed the Triple Alliance (May 1882), which opposed to the French Republic forces so superior as to sterilise the hopes of revenge long cherished on the banks of the Seine. The tragic end of that fiery patriot, Gambetta, following close on that of the arch-enemy of the Teutonic race in Eastern Europe, General Skobeleff, seemed to forbid all chance of an understanding between the Republic of the West and Alexander III of Russia, who was then wholly concerned with the internal affairs of his empire. The year which saw the death of Skobeleff and Gambetta also witnessed the installation of British authority in Egypt, consequent on the overthrow of the power of Arabi Pasha by Lord Wolseley in the short but brilliant campaign which ended at Tel-el-Kebir (September 1882).

These events engendered in France a sense of disappointment, mingled with disgust, at the Government which had to put up with them; and on this seed-bed of national discontent the Bonapartists began assiduously to scatter seed in the interests of their House. Prince Jerome Napoleon, now the chief of that dynasty, had the walls of Paris placarded with a manifesto hostile to the Republic. Challenged thus, even at the capital, the authorities took strong measures. M. Grévy, President of the Republic, put down Bonapartist manifestations, and the Chambers passed a decree of exile against all members of the families which had reigned in France.

Thoughtful men, however, saw that repression alone would not suffice. The Republic could not endure if it became the synonym for passivity. A constructive and energetic policy alone could appeal to Frenchmen, and a man was at hand who promised to turn the thoughts of his countrymen away from the barren quarrels of the Old World to fertile enterprises in new lands. This man was M. Jules Ferry, who in February 1883 became the head of a Ministry that promised to endure. Endowed with clear insight, ambition, and, above all, with a masterful personality, he brought forward a new military law, and prepared to carry to greater lengths the anti-clerical policy of Gambetta. As if this were not enough, he pushed on the construction of railways, and embarked on the colonial enterprises in Madagascar and Tonquin, the results of which have already been noticed. Here it remains to point out that the outcome of this forward colonial policy was disastrous to its chief promoter. Both expeditions proved to be unexpectedly difficult and costly both in men and money. Thousands of families, after losing dear ones in the fever-laden forests of Madagascar or the swamps of

Tonquin, began to inveigh against the policy which wasted thousands of lives for no tangible return, and threatened to jeopardise the future of France as a European power. News of the insufficiency of the medical supplies and of administrative incompetence swelled the outcry against the Ministry, and M. Ferry was frequently assailed with cries about the rice of Tonquin and the gold of Madagascar. Royalists, Bonapartists and clerics fomented the opposition, angered as they were by M. Ferry's resolute Radicalism in internal affairs, and by the revision of the constitution in a democratic sense in the year 1884. The last act is memorable as being one of the very rare occasions of a change in the constitution being effected by purely constitutional means.

At last, in March 1885, the news of a disaster to a French force in Tonquin brought the discontent to a climax. Angry crowds blocked the approaches to the Palais Bourbon, where the Chambers sat. Within its walls the clamour against the Premier was scarcely less. An able debater of the extreme left, M. Clémenceau, expressed the prevalent feeling when he charged the Ministry with breaking the pledges given to the electors. "We commissioned you (they might say) to make peace; you have made war; you have deceived us; you have been unfaithful to your mandate; you have compromised the interests of France and of the Republic." Two days later, on the arrival of still worse news from Tonquin, the Chamber overthrew the Ministry (March 30, 1885). Ultimately the policy of M. Ferry has been justified. The bandits of Annam and Tonquin have been cowed; the armed opposition of China has proved to be what Ferry named it, *une quantité négligeable*, and, under the able administration of recent governors, French Indo-China has proved to be of no small commercial value.

In 1885 this could not be foreseen, all eyes being intent

on the Three Emperors' League, which Bismarck had for a time galvanised into activity. For a time France refused to look away to new lands—she had for the same reason declined to co-operate with Great Britain in Egypt three years earlier—and bent her energies to the task of confronting Germany with an equality of strength. The results of this change of front were noteworthy in many ways. Bismarck, who had favoured Ferry's colonial policy and harassed British interests at several points in Africa, now saw that France was still the enemy. He therefore, in 1886-1888, moderated the zeal of the German "colonials," became less hostile to the United Kingdom, and pushed on military preparations in Germany in a way that will be described in the following chapter.

France also slackened her colonial efforts, strengthened her army and navy, built strategic railways in the eastern departments, and, through certain leaders of society and in the press (of whom Mme. Adam and M. Élie de Cyon were the chief), began to make advances towards Russia with a view to an alliance. These overtures as yet were wholly unofficial, for the French Radicals, who still held sway at Paris, had as much dislike of the stern autocrat of the East as he had of the shifting democracy of the West, but hatred of Germany was destined to bring together these ill-matched allies before the end of the reign of Alexander III.

The slowness of growth of the *entente* was due to the constant shiftings of parties and Ministries at Paris. France, in fact, adapted herself with difficulty to parliamentary ways, and in the opinion of Mr. Bodley she has not yet done so.[1] However that may be, it is certain that in the years 1885-1888 the Republic was in great danger owing

[1] J. E. C. Bodley, *France*, vol. ii. pp. 241-246, etc.

to the aggressiveness of militarism and Chauvinism. To the causes of this unrest we must now refer.

After the fall of M. Ferry, men of lesser note, M. Brisson and M. de Freycinet, held the chief place in short-lived Cabinets. The general election of October 1885 showed gains for the Royalists and Bonapartists, but left the Republicans with a majority, namely, 382 as against 202 who favoured hereditary rule. M. Grévy was a second time elected President of the Republic in December 1885, for seven years, but his cold, self-contained nature soon began to weary a nation that longs for more attractive and commanding qualities in its chief. In short, the Republic was put on its trial. Now, a defensive attitude does not commend itself to Frenchmen, and the passivity to which the Republic was condemned after the fall of M. Ferry, favoured the emergence of a man who promised to interest the nation, and possibly to revive the great days of the distant past.

In the Freycinet Cabinet, formed in January 1886, the most remarkable personality was that of General Boulanger. The influence which this man came to exert is one of the enigmas of modern history. It can be explained only by reference to the sense of weariness and disgust then so prevalent on that side of the Channel, and to the lack of great men. At bottom, Frenchmen desired to be ruled by men who, without harking back to Absolutism and Feudalism, would enhance the prestige of their country. At that time the Napoleonic legend was being skilfully rehabilitated. Monographs and Memoirs that recalled the times of Napoleon I. issued from the press in steady succession, until, by the side of the glories of the First Empire, the quiet work of upbuilding done by the Third Republic seemed utterly prosaic.

Frenchmen were, therefore, in the state of mind that discovers a heaven-sent genius in any attractive soldier, who, while professing devotion to the Republic, promised to recall the glamour of bygone days and to prepare the way for a war of revenge. In the mists of the popular imagination the "sun of Austerlitz" seemed once more to be rising and threw up before it a shape which looked gigantic as the fabled giant of the Harz Mountains. True! Boulanger himself was no more extraordinary or romantic than his name; but the wraith, known as Boulangism, for several months riveted on it the eyes of men in ecstasy or dismay until the phenomenon was discovered to be the projection of a quite ordinary figure on fog.

Georges Ernest Jean Boulanger was born at Rennes in 1837. He served with credit in the army in Algeria, Italy, Cochin-China, and in the campaign of 1870, after which he was recommended for the grade of brigadier-general by the Duc d'Aumale. Notwithstanding the debt of gratitude which he owed to the Royalists, he joined the Radical party, and to his devotion to democracy, no less than to his military talents and experience, we may attribute his ministerial appointment in January 1886. He actively participated in the measures adopted in June-July 1886 for expelling the chiefs of the Bourbon line from the army and from France. On his initiative the strength of the active army was brought up to 628 battalions, and in February 1887 the Chambers voted a large sum for the purchase of repeating rifles. These measures were taken as threats by Germany, and perhaps led to the incident soon to be described. Boulanger proved to be no less tactful than energetic. In a short time he gained the hearts of the soldiery by promoting their comfort and efficiency in several ways, so that his popularity began to overshadow that of

the civilians in the Cabinet, even before the occurrence of a frontier incident which enabled him to pose as the national champion. This was the Schnaebele affair.

Schnaebele was a French commissioner of police at the station of Pagny, near the frontier of Lorraine. On April 20, 1887, he was enticed across the boundary, was arrested by two German spies disguised as workmen, and was thrown into prison at Metz. As if to add to the indignation caused by this outrage, Bismarck, a few days later, made a speech to the Prussian Landtag in which he accused France of being ever warlike, and of having attacked Germany "on innumerable occasions." It seemed that the Chancellor deliberately sought to provoke France to launch a declaration of war. If so, he nearly succeeded. The indignation among Frenchmen was profound, and the War Minister skilfully expressed it both by his words and by his preparations for war. That matters did not come to the arbitrament of the sword was due to the pacific attitude of Alexander III of Russia, who sent an autograph letter to his aged relative, William I. Its contents are not known; but the German Emperor, who longed to end his days in peace, acted promptly, and, without reference to his Chancellor, gave an order for the release of Schnaebele. The war-cloud thus blew over, but not until it had quickened the resolve of both peoples still further to strengthen their armies.

The resolute and warlike attitude of Boulanger had now raised him to the height of popularity in France, so that by this time his former patron, M. Clémenceau, in common with nearly all Radicals, looked on him as a source of danger to the State. In December 1886, M. Goblet had taken the place of M. de Freycinet as Premier; but the new chief of the Cabinet found the position untenable in face of the overshadowing influence of the General, and

consequently resigned in May 1887. The next Prime Minister, M. Rouvier, declined to admit Boulanger to his Cabinet, and assigned to him the command of a *corps d'armée* at Clermont-Ferrand. The removal of their favourite from Paris infuriated the loungers of the Boulevards; and it soon appeared that the Bonapartists and some of the less scrupulous Royalists were fomenting a Boulangist movement. They taunted the Government with undue complaisance to Germany, which, in July 1887, imprisoned several Alsatians for showing their devotion to France. The popularity of the supposed champion of Gallic honour found expression in numerous songs in his honour — *En revenant de la Revue, C'est Boulanger qu'il nous faut*, etc. Good patriots plumed themselves on drinking a *liqueur Boulanger*, and washed themselves with "Boulanger soap."

Relying on these signs of his power, the General began to defy the authorities and the rules of the service. His enemies, prominent among whom were MM. Clémenceau and Ferry, maintained that he was undermining the Republic, and that he was working for a war with Germany, in which, if beaten, he would drag down France to ruin, while his triumph, if triumph there could be, would lead him to ape the behaviour of Bonaparte in 1799. His friends, on the other hand, protested against this campaign of calumny, and vaunted his disinterestedness and patriotism in contrast with the weakness of parliamentary schemers who were reducing France to the level of a secondary power. So urged M. Henri Rochefort, M. Mayer, and M. Lalou. It is probable that Orleanists, Bonapartists, and the Slavophils of Moscow, with Katkoff at their head, helped on the Boulangist movement, until it became a serious menace to the world's peace.

Unfortunately, in the autumn of the year 1887, scandals occurred in connection with the sale of "decorations" of the Legion of Honour by certain military men; and in the course of the inquiry on that subject it transpired that M. Wilson, son-in-law of the President of the Republic, was gravely compromised in this degrading traffic. Finally M. Grévy himself was convicted of complicity in these intrigues; and, to make matters worse, he offered the most obstinate and undignified opposition to those who pressed him to resign. Finally, after the resignation of the Rouvier Ministry (November 19), when every public man of note showed his repugnance at holding office during his Presidency, he bowed before the storm and ended in disgrace a long and in other respects creditable career (December 2). On the next day the Chambers met in Congress at Versailles and elected M. Sadi Carnot, grandson of the famous Carnot who was known as "the organiser of victory" in 1793-1794. The choice was most fortunate. His name kindled enthusiasm; and he proved himself to be worthy of his sires. As a boy he had shown his staunch republicanism by refusing to accept a wreath of honour from the hands of the Prince Imperial; and now his figure was destined to stand forth clear in its austere virtue at a time when many men sank back besmirched by sordid intrigues.

Nine days later M. Tirard formed a Ministry, with M. Loubet (the present President) as colleague in the department of Public Works. The Ministry held office for less than fourteen weeks. Its authority was undermined by General Boulanger. The "brav' général" had twice broken the rules of the service, and for this he was placed on the retired list and finally cashiered. At once he and his friends accused the Chambers of reducing France to impotence, and demanded the revision of the constitution.

This question was at the same time pressed vehemently forward in the Chambers; and in face of a hostile majority composed of reactionaries, Boulangists, and malcontent Republicans, the next Ministry, that of M. Tirard, resigned (March 30, 1888).

It was succeeded by the Floquet Cabinet, also Radical in complexion. The new Ministers soon had to bear the brunt of the Boulangist attack. The General, having resolved to enter the political arena, was elected deputy by the industrial Department, Le Nord, by a great majority (April 15). In June he brought forward proposals which, if accepted, would have sterilised parliamentary institutions in France, and replaced them by the rule of one man, able to choose his Ministers outside Parliament, to set its laws at defiance, and to submit his own proposals directly to a mass vote or plébiscite. In short, they would have replaced the parliamentary Republic by a plebiscitary Republic; and this has remained the ideal of all those Frenchmen who, from whatever motive, have sought to warp democracy to their own ends. Fortunately the Chamber of Deputies rejected these proposals by 377 votes to 186 (June 4, 1888). Unable to hold his own in the Chamber, the General resigned his seat, and on July 13 was wounded in the neck in a duel with M. Floquet.

Despite these two checks, Boulangism continued to flourish, and on presenting himself for election in an *arrondissement* of Paris, the General gained an overwhelming majority over the Republican candidate, M. Jacques (January 27, 1889). It is said that if he had at once organised his followers for an attack on the Élysée, the President's residence, he might perhaps have overthrown the authorities. But far from being cowed by his success, they prepared to defend democracy at its citadel. The

Temps happily characterised the situation by saying that Paris had voted, not against the Republic, but against "a powerless and incapable Chamber"; while M. Clémenceau prophesied that France would soon recover from its attack of what Renan had described as "le Messianisme."

This optimism was abundantly justified. Boulanger once more proved that he could do little or nothing in the Chamber of Deputies. The international situation imposed caution on France. The Triple Alliance had been renewed in March 1887. The Czar, Alexander III, was known to distrust and dislike the French Republic. Germany, too, was strong enough to disdain the *gasconnade* of the Parisian loungers, for early in February 1888 Bismarck made a great speech in favour of a substantial increase in German armaments, which swept away all opposition. Clearly France alone could not move against the three Powers. She could only vent her spleen now and again on Italy; and we may mention in passing, that her threats and the naval preparations at Toulon served to bring the British Mediterranean squadron to Genoa, and to prepare the way for an understanding between the Governments of London and Rome. Why Great Britain did not definitely join the Triple Alliance is not known. Her interests then lay on that side, seeing that the nagging policy of France in Egyptian affairs and the threats of Russia against the independence of Bulgaria (the then united Principality was supported by Austria and Great Britain) served to bring the Island State into acute friction with these two Powers.

Another interesting question that still awaits solution is the amount of support given by the ardent Slavophils of Russia to the Boulangist movement. The hatred which they bore to Germany inevitably led them to favour the new military-Chauvinistic combination in France, and it is

known that Katkoff had urged the Czar to support Boulanger. The death of the brilliant Russian publicist, in August 1887, is said to have been due to a rebuff dealt him by Alexander III on the collapse of a hoped-for Ministerial combination at Paris, which might have installed the war party in power.

As it was, the designs of the Chauvinists miscarried both at Paris and Moscow, and the years 1888-1889 saw the Triple Alliance practically unassailable. The inability of Boulanger to gratify the wishes of his supporters was soon apparent, and it only remained for a strong Ministry to exhibit the artificiality of his position. This was done by the new Tirard Cabinet, and the preparations of a prosecution for treason sufficed to send Boulanger, Henri Rochefort, and Count Dillon flying across the northern frontier (April 1889). Boulangism never recovered from this fiasco. The High Court pronounced sentence against the three men in August. Boulanger remained in exile, and in September 1891 he committed suicide on the grave of his mistress at Brussels. Such was the end of one of the strangest movements of the century, which at times promised to overthrow the Republic and envelop the continent in war. Its ignominious collapse served to reveal the solidity of the new institutions of France and of the political combinations framed by Bismarck in Central Europe.

The realisation of these facts has tended towards stability both in French politics and in international relations. So commanding was the position occupied by Germany, especially when the vigorous young emperor, William II, mounted the throne (June 15, 1888), that no one at Paris dreamt of attacking Germany. The utmost that could be hoped for was an understanding with Russia

that would relieve both countries from disquietude under the pressure of the armed forces of the Triple Alliance. A perception of this fact led Alexander III to draw closer to France. The beginning of the Franco-Russian *entente* may be assigned to the autumn of 1888, when French financiers came into close relations with the Czar's Ministers, ousting from favour several German and Jewish houses. Then it was that France began to lend freely to Russia, a series of loans being subscribed for with an eagerness that enabled the Czar to consolidate his war debt on more favourable terms, re-arm his forces, and build railways both in his European and Asiatic dominions. In short, French money paved the way for the Franco-Russian alliance of to-day. It was not definitely framed in the reign of Alexander III, but the flattering reception which he accorded to the French fleet on its visit to Cronstadt in July 1891 showed that the understanding between the two Powers was very close. Germany saw that any precipitate step on her part would clinch the Franco-Russian compact. Thus French diplomacy and finance quietly achieved far more for the safety of the Republic than all the frothy declamations of Boulanger, Rochefort, Déroulède, and the League of Patriots.

Strong in a new sense of security, the State quietly developed its institutions and its material resources. The Universal Exhibition of 1889 at Paris, on the centenary of the great Revolution, proved that the attractions of that capital were as irresistible as ever, and France would undoubtedly have entered on a time of great prosperity but for certain causes of unrest. Of these we can notice here only two—the scandals of the Panama Company and the anarchist movement of the years 1893-1894.

The latter was to some extent an outcome of the disgust

generally felt at the corruptness of public and financial life in France. All that was bad in that country seemed to hover, vulture-like, over the Panama undertaking, so that what should have been a triumph of intelligence, skill, and enterprise became a vast *cloaca* of avarice and fraud. The Panama Company was founded by M. Ferdinand de Lesseps (the conqueror of the Isthmus of Suez) in 1880-1881. The natural difficulties in its way were enormous, and to these were added civil strifes in the isthmus, which led to the wrecking of some of the works. As if the piercing of a mountainous peninsula, drenched by torrential rains and infested by malaria, were not enough, the grossest extravagance prevailed in the raising of the needed funds. By fair means or foul, the money filtered away so rapidly that in 1888 the Company was virtually bankrupt. Great efforts were then made by De Lesseps and his son to float another company which should take over the unfinished enterprise; but, despite the support accorded by the French Government, the project failed. Charges of extravagance and fraud were hurled at the Board of Directors by the subscribers, and several of them proved to be well founded. Nevertheless the Government hesitated to prosecute the Directors, largely because of the respect everywhere felt for the venerable chief, though it was known that, under cover of his reputation, fraud had thriven amazingly. The various issues of stock had entailed an expense of more than 83,000,000 francs. They had actually realised 1,329,000,000 francs, of which only 611,778,000 francs had been expended on the half-finished works. Where, then, were the remaining 718,000,000 francs?

Finally the Government undertook to prosecute the managers, making an exception in favour of the chief on account of his extreme age. A Parliamentary Commission

of Inquiry also made some investigations, which served half to reveal and half to conceal the truth. The whole air seemed tainted with corruption. The inquiry was long and difficult, owing to the political influence of the suspects; it brought about the fall of the Loubet Ministry in November 1892, that of M. Ribot in the following January, and a reconstituted Ribot Cabinet in March 1893. Fortunately the probity of many remained above suspicion, and the figure of the President stood out strong and clear above the turbid press. The first trial of the accused ended with the conviction of the two MM. Lesseps, father and son, and of three others, to terms of imprisonment and heavy fines. The father was not imprisoned owing to his great age; and a second trial in March 1893 ended in the lightening of the sentence against the son, and the conviction of MM. Blaïhaut and Blondin to imprisonment and heavy fines. The affair did not end there. The inquiry had been incomplete, but it had blasted the reputation of several public men who were not brought to trial. Thus the whole public life of France suffered, and she stood forth degraded in the eyes of the world. So competent an observer as M. Élie de Cyon has declared that the reluctance of the Czar of Russia to conclude a definite alliance with France arose from the disgust which he felt at the revelations of the Panama trials.

It speaks volumes for the wealth of France that she did not succumb under the losses and discredit resulting from "the affair." Her people had flung away more than a thousand million francs, and had sustained a shock to the national credit not to be summed up in figures. Yet at that time of strain she was able to subscribe to Russian loans. What was equally surprising, the general election of August-September 1893 sent up a very large majority of

Republicans. Over against 51 deputies of Royalist or Bonapartist opinions, there were 330 moderate Republicans, 150 Radicals, and 50 Socialists. Even Panamá had not ruined the Republic.

One of the results of these scandals was the growth of Socialism of a violent type. It may be ascribed partly to the pressure of industrial competition and of taxation, partly also to the disgust felt at the corruptness of public life in France. Soon after the general election a great strike of coal-miners took place in the north. After two months' effort the men had to give way and resume work on the old terms. The months following were marked by several anarchist outrages; and after the explosion of a bomb in the Chamber of Deputies (December 9, 1893) that body passed a stringent measure against all who incited to deeds of violence. Several arrests of anarchists took place. This served to exasperate an irreconcilable minority, one of whom stabbed to the heart the esteemed President of the Republic while he was attending the fêtes of an international exhibition at Lyons (June 24, 1894). The deed sent a thrill of horror throughout the world. M. Sadi Carnot had discharged the duties of his office with firmness, tact, and uprightness in a time of exceptional difficulty, and the nation mourned him as one of its band of devoted civilians who had done as much for the real welfare of France as any of her warriors in the nineteenth century. Thanks largely to his dignity and rectitude, the Republic had triumphed over Boulangism, and had rid itself of several of the harpies that battened on its life-blood. It is open to question whether his services to the Third Republic were not as valuable as those of his grandfather were to the France of 1793-1794.

Pessimists everywhere prophesied evil things for France,

but that surprising country, "where it is the unexpected which happens," speedily silenced the croakers. The two Chambers united at Versailles on June 27, and chose as President M. Casimir-Périer, eldest son of the statesman who had been Minister of the Interior after 1873. Despite his abilities and strength of character, the new President failed to satisfy either the parties or himself. In politics he inclined too much to the moderates to please the Radicals, and, as part owner of a group of coal-mines where strikes were frequent, he was open to sarcastic attacks in the press, and these galled his somewhat masterful nature. In view of the ferment in the public mind (then disturbed by the beginning of "the *affaire* Dreyfus," as well as by anarchist outrages), he desired to have larger powers than those accorded by the constitution of 1875. Troubled also by constant changes in the Ministries of that time, which it would be tedious to detail, he handed in his resignation, adding a suggestion that the scope of the President's authority should be enlarged (January 15, 1895). Both the act and the suggestion were coldly received—a fact which proved that the days for autocratic rule were past.

His successor, M. Félix Faure, proved to be more tactful and popular. Fortune, however, was favourable to him in several ways. The accession of Nicholas to the throne of Russia removed the personal difficulties which, it is said, had hindered the conclusion of a definite alliance between France and Russia. External events also served to bring the two Powers into close union. The Chino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 ushered in a situation by which the young autocrat and his Ministers determined to profit to the utmost. As will appear in Chapter XLV, Russia needed the support of France and Germany in order to

coerce Japan into the surrender of her conquests. It seems probable that these considerations served to clinch the Franco-Russian compact. That it became a reality in the year 1895 we may infer from the references of the Prime Minister, M. Ribot, and of the Foreign Minister, M. Hanotaux, to Russia as *notre allié* (June 10, 1895).

The exact nature of the compact is so little known that it would be useless to speculate on it here; but the event caused the liveliest satisfaction in France, and therefore enhanced the popularity of the new President and the new Ministry. We may further point out that, as France acted in concert with Germany as well as Russia in the Far East, her relations with the Teutonic Empire became for a time almost friendly. It is also noteworthy that the conclusion of the Dual Alliance produced a state of equilibrium in European affairs which brought the international relations of the five great continental Powers—France, Russia, Germany, Austria, and Italy—to a condition resembling a deadlock.

This tendency to equipoise had long been becoming more and more pronounced; and, despite all the efforts of those Powers to strengthen their armies and navies in and after the year 1887, their statesmen have found themselves unable to take any decisive action in affairs affecting adversely the interests of the hostile phalanx. This has undoubtedly been a guarantee for peace, but it has enabled unscrupulous intriguers like the Sultan of Turkey (who, since the year 1882, has enjoyed a certain measure of patronage and support from Germany) to work out their designs in defiance of the public opinion of Western Europe. Thus the Christians of the Turkish Empire have suffered in a way that would have been impossible before the great continental Powers ranged themselves in two huge and

interlocking phalanxes. Many Frenchmen desired to intervene in favour of the outraged Christians of Macedonia, Crete, and Armenia in the years 1895-1897; but the Government felt itself unable to stir on behalf of the oppressed. We may further remark that the timidity of the statesmen of Great Britain conduced to the same deplorable inaction in the case of the Island Power, though it was free from the entanglements which curbed the generous instincts of the French people.

With the exception of the Eastern Question, which entered on a new and acute phase in the years 1895-1897, no European problem of great importance beset France in the closing years of the century. The same may be said of her internal concerns, if we except the Dreyfus affair, which is far too complex to be detailed here. We can therefore only state that the general election of May 1898 made little change in the strength of parties except to strengthen the Republicans by the adhesion of thirty-eight members termed *ralliés*, that is, gained over from the cause of monarchy to that of the moderate Republic. Socialists and "Nationalists" also gained a few seats. Under the latter designation was grouped a handful of deputies who demanded a more spirited foreign policy and the substitution of a "plebiscitary" Republic for that conducted on parliamentary methods. For a time the Nationalists made a great stir, owing to the frothy declamation of M. Paul Déroulède and his League of Patriots. Their self-advertising devices received quaint illustration at the time of the election of a new President of the Republic (February 1899). On the death of M. Félix Faure, who had filled his high station with rare tact and graciousness, the Chambers elected M. Loubet, thus crowning a long and honourable career spent in the public service. At the

conclusion of the public obsequies of the late President, M. Déroulède and one or two friends deemed the occasion to be propitious for inducing the commander of the troops to march against the Élysée. The commander thought differently, and at once apprehended the amateur revolutionists. One or two other childish escapades brought the League of Patriots into ridicule, and all attempts to insult the President only served to show the respect which Frenchmen increasingly felt for him and for the institutions of the Republic.

And yet the Government on several occasions strained the allegiance of very many Frenchmen. Apart from the Dreyfus affair, in which the rage of the anti-Semites almost openly warped judicial procedure, there were the grievances inflicted on Roman Catholics by laws against the monastic foundations and conventual schools. The outcome of the measures directed against these institutions was the closing of nearly the whole of them, the virtual expulsion of their inmates from France, and the almost complete secularising of education.

As a set-off to these causes of discord, the Republic had at hand a source of strength which has been open to every civilised State, but of which Frenchmen have recently made more and more effective use—colonial enterprise. It will be more serviceable if we close this chapter, not by a recapitulation of these vexatious measures, and of the complexities of "the *affaire* Dreyfus," but rather by a survey of the achievements of Frenchmen in the new lands which science and engineering have opened up to human activities. Some of these colonial developments have been referred to in Chapter XXXV. Others of more recent date now claim attention in order of their importance.

First among them we may rank the endeavour of France to gain possession of the valley of the Upper Nile, and of its great tributary, the Bahr-el-Ghazal, which brought her into sharp collision with Great Britain. Questions had arisen between these two Powers and the Congo Free State respecting the ownership of the Bahr-el-Ghazal province, formerly owned by Egypt, but then actually subject to the Khalifa, successor to the Mahdi. The Congo Free State, in its expansion eastwards, sought to gain a title to this large territory by making a compact with Great Britain on May 12, 1894, whereby we recognised its ownership of all the districts on the left bank of the Upper Nile, while King Leopold, for the Free State, recognised our claims to the lands on the right bank, inclusive of the northern parts of Uganda. Germany agreed to this compact, but France vehemently and successfully protested against it. She then secured from the Congo Free State, by an agreement of August 14, 1894, the recognition of her right to the Bahr-el-Ghazal province recently claimed by it, with the exception of the Lado district, north-east of the Albert Nyanza; and she now prepared to enter on this vast heritage. The Rosebery Cabinet, through the mouth of Sir Edward Grey, let it be known in unmistakable terms, on March 28, 1895, that an attempt of France to occupy any part of the Egyptian Soudan would be regarded as "an unfriendly act." Nevertheless the French Government prepared to do so, and sent an expedition from the French Congo towards the Bahr-el-Ghazal. Major Marchand, who finally undertook this enterprise, states that the decision was definitely formed at Paris in November 1895, when, as we have seen, France felt fully reassured as to her position in Europe. Great Britain also then began to prepare for Sir Herbert Kitchener's advance

up the Nile to Dongola as a counter-stroke, and news of these preparations aroused great annoyance at Paris.[1]

Some persons have confidently asserted that French officials intrigued with the Khalifa to effect the ruin of the British expedition to Khartoum. That is probably untrue; but it is certain that the struggle for the Upper Nile which now ensued inaugurated a time of great tension between the two Governments, which culminated in the Fashoda episode of September 1898. At that time Lord Kitchener had overthrown the Khalifa at the battle of Omdurman (September 2, 1898), while Marchand with his small force had struggled through to Fashoda; one or two French and Russian officers also sought, though in vain, to reach that town from the side of Obock and Abyssinia. Their aim obviously was to gain influence over or to annex outright all the lands between the French settlement of Obock on the Red Sea and the French Congolese Colony.[2] This would have barred the way for ever to that southern extension of British influence which figured in the popular imagination as the Cape to Cairo all-British route.

The clash of interests being of this incisive character, the British commander acted with great promptitude. He steamed up the White Nile to Fashoda, and requested the French commander to hoist the Egyptian flag on an old Egyptian fort which he had occupied. On his refusal to do so, he referred the matter to their respective Governments. After a time of acute friction France gave way, and, by the agreement of March 1899, recognised the

[1] See the revelations made by M. de Freycinet in his work, '*La Question d'Égypte* (1905), also by Colonel Marchand in the *Matin* of June 20, 1905.

[2] E. Maréchal, *Histoire contemporaine*, vol. ii. (1848-1900) p. 409.

joint sovereignty of Great Britain and Egypt over the whole of the Egyptian Soudan and the Bahr-el-Ghazal.

It is improbable that France would have made these concessions, had not her relations to Germany rapidly cooled after the brief *entente* of the year 1895 in the Far East. There, as at other points, the attitude of France has depended largely on the general situation in Europe. As long as she felt sure of the active support of Russia and the complaisance of Germany, she showed small regard for the interests of Great Britain; but whenever the Powers of the Triple Alliance had the upper hand in European affairs, she evinced a disposition to effect a friendly compromise. It is to be hoped that after the settlement, in 1904, of most of the matters so hotly disputed in the 'nineties, the present cordial relations between the two nations will become lasting. By recognising British predominance in Egypt, French statesmen have cleared away the chief barrier to a good understanding between the two nations.

The decades of the 'eighties and 'nineties were beset by other colonial disputes almost as important as those that centred in the Nile Valley. For a time there was grave friction with regard to Burmah, then groaning under the cruel tyranny of King Theebaw; and when the intrigues of French agents at Ava and Mandalay began to threaten India on the east, the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, took immediate action and promptly annexed that land. France then sought to bring the eastern parts of Siam under her influence; and in 1893 she sent gunboats up the river Menam, which forced their way to Bangkok and compelled the Siamese Court to recognise a French protectorate over the tribes and territories in question. Further complications arose with Great Britain respecting the frontier between Tonquin and Upper Burmah. The British Govern-

ment sought to interpose a buffer state between their respective possessions. The French, however, pressed on and ultimately gained the present boundary on the north of Siam proper. Their further claims on the Siamese monarch were settled by the convention of 1902, which conceded to them valuable rights in the valley of the river Mekong, thus consolidating their Indo-Chinese possessions.

Far more important were the gains of France in West Africa. Her occupation of Tunis in 1881 inaugurated a forward policy which promised to subject to the tricolour all the lands from Tunis to Senegal, and thence to the mouth of the river Niger. In 1883 a French expedition from the Upper Senegal made its way to the head waters of the Niger; but there they came into collision with the great slave-raiding chieftain Samory, whose power withstood the efforts of the French during several years. At last, in 1894, they succeeded in capturing the important city of Timbuctoo; and, despite a temporary check, they kept their hold on that great trade-centre. Finally, in 1898, they captured Samory. Meanwhile, in 1892, Colonel Dodds had effected the conquest of Dahomey, and extended the French power to the rear of the British possessions on the Gold Coast. Equally rapid were the advances of the French on the Lower Niger and its affluents. There, fortunately, they had to deal with a British Company formed in the years 1883-1885, which had bought up the claims of French traders in those parts, and thereafter safeguarded British interests far more effectively than the Colonial Office had done. A time of great friction ensued, especially in the year 1897, when the two Powers came within measurable distance of war. Thanks to the firm but conciliatory attitude of the Salisbury Cabinet, France abated her extreme claims, and the two Governments in

the following year agreed to a partition of territory in the Niger basin, and in that of Lake Chad, on lines which reconciled the previous differences. Outstanding questions were solved in the Anglo-French agreement of 1904. The peaceful settlement of disputes affecting important interests in the valleys of the Nile, Niger, Benuë, and Mekong, as well as on the coasts of Newfoundland and Morocco, may be regarded as one of the most satisfactory events of the present age.

The best energies of France during the last fifteen years have been thrown into her colonial enterprises. They have dowered her with an enormous empire in Africa. It is not generally realised that the area of the French dominions in that continent exceeds that of the British possessions by more than one-third; and, what is more, our neighbours have shown increasing skill and success in the government of native races and the exploitation of new lands. There is every prospect that this important development will begin a new chapter in the life of France. It opens up fresh sources of activity and hope, both commercial and political. Condemned to play a smaller part in European affairs since Germany and Italy became great and united realms, she can yet figure as a mighty World-Power, finding in her colonial empire a surer source of wealth and strength than ever lay before the great Napoleon in his impracticable attempt to control the continent of Europe. In that grandiose but fallacious enterprise failure was inevitable as soon as the continent awoke to political consciousness. Now success is readily attainable, if Frenchmen in their new efforts exhibit those qualities of intelligence, patience, and persistence which the opening up of untamed lands calls into play. The benefits are both direct and indirect; the work reacts on

finance and on men. It dowers a nation with gifts of character more to be valued than wealth.

Some acute observers have augured ill of the future of France. They believe that her genius is unsuited to parliamentary rule. They point to the many black spots that have darkened it, and to the widespread feeling of unrest, or even of disgust, in view of constantly recurring Ministerial crises, which solve no political problem, except that of dismissing one set of lawyers and journalists that has become impossible, and of bringing forward another group scarcely distinguishable from them. All this may be granted. It is also certain that the general abstention of the nobles and propertied classes from political life is a misfortune. Yet, on the other hand, we may point out that facts have proved the inevitableness of the republican form of government, and therefore of parliamentary rule; also that, despite the scandals and blunders of the past, the institutions of to-day have increasingly gained the adhesion, if not the heartfelt devotion, of large classes that once were apathetic or hostile.

Finally, it should be remembered that, as the training of Frenchmen in democratic methods dates only from the year 1875, the instinct for self-government has had a comparatively short space in which to grow to maturity. That the Republic will gain complete hold of the national life, if it perseveres in a policy of peaceful development, and abstains from petty persecution of Roman Catholics, seems to be an inference deducible from a survey of the events of the years 1875-1900.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE (1882-1900).

THE conclusion of the Triple Alliance in the spring of the year 1882 seemed to crown the measures whereby William I. and his Chancellor, Prince Bismarck, sought to safeguard the achievements of the years 1870-1871. The completion of the edifice of German unity had come with such dramatic suddenness as to foster the belief that it could not endure the wear and tear of political life, especially in that central part of Europe for which nature has provided few defensible barriers. Germans themselves then felt misgivings on this subject, especially as the Bavarians, Würtembergers, Saxons, and Hanoverians (not to speak of Poles in Posen and Danes in Schleswig) were known to feel dislike or jealousy of Prussia in varying degrees. Then, again, on the south, Austria still nursed resentment for her overthrow in 1866 and her exclusion from all participation in German affairs. We now know from the revelations of General Lebrun, aide-de-camp to Napoleon III, that in June 1870 negotiations were begun between Paris and Vienna with a view to a joint attack on Prussia either in the autumn of 1870 or the spring of 1871.

These hostile feelings could be overcome, or lessened, only by the exercise of great tact and patience; but Bismarck brought these gifts to bear on the problems that beset him,

and with remarkable success. By careful treatment the susceptibilities of the South Germans, Saxons, and Hanoverians were soothed, so that there now (1905) remains very little hostility to the Empire save among the alien races in Posen, Schleswig, and Alsace-Lorraine, and in the last-named province this is most acute in the French-speaking districts around Metz.

Still more brilliant was Bismarck's success in international affairs. Austrian jealousy of Germany gave way by degrees, especially as he was careful to favour the expansion of the Hapsburg realm on the side of Bosnia in 1878. Thenceforth Austria's chief concern was respecting the resentment of Russia, and, as we have seen, the German Chancellor skilfully made use of this new situation to bring together the two Germanic Powers in an alliance, which, on the accession of Italy in 1882, became the Triple Alliance. The system of States thus brought together by Bismarck's statecraft was the strongest that the world has ever seen—far stronger than the shifting conglomerate of States known as the "Continental System," on which the great Napoleon for a few years imposed his fiscal decrees. Strength in political life is measured not so much by extent of territory, as by power to cohere and to endure great strains. It is significant that, while Napoleon's "Continental System" lasted only six years (1806-1812), the Triple Alliance, despite some weakening in its structure on the side of Italy, is still a great force in the politics of the world.

Besides guarding against the hostility of neighbouring States, Bismarck had to face the intrigues of Jesuits and Ultramontanes, who were furious at the overthrow of France and the predominance of North Germany. As we saw, the Chancellor was less successful in his conflict with the impalpable forces of religion. Possibly he succeeded in

countermining Jesuit plots of which we know little save by vague rumour; but his "May Laws" against refractory clerics finally proved more of an encumbrance than a support, and in and after the year 1880 they were allowed gradually to lapse.

On the whole, the feeling in favour of political union tended to prevail over the older local or State feeling, once so powerful in the secondary States. There, as in nearly every country, men have come to see that the spirit of the age is all in favour of association in larger communities. The spread of railways, telegraphs, newspapers, and cheap literature has tended to weaken local prejudices, while the development of commerce and industry, everywhere favourable to production on a great scale, has condemned to poverty little States that strive to live a self-contained life. All these tendencies quietly dissolved the narrow feelings of former days, when the petty German States could be aptly likened to cages at a menagerie, through the bars of which creatures glared at each other with mutual suspicion and hatred.

The new Germany resembles a great industrial and military arena. The change within the last twenty years has been portentous, and in the opinion of the best observers it has been attended with several drawbacks. These may largely be ascribed to the evils of modern industrialism, which tends to draw men together in large masses, held together merely by the cash-nexus, as Carlyle termed it. Very different is the eager competition and strenuous life of to-day, in the great cities of Germany, from the quiet cultured existence portrayed in the works of Goethe and Schiller of a century ago. Life then, if narrow, was far deeper and more truly refined than it is now, at least among the middle classes. The same change

has come over all "civilised" lands, but nowhere perhaps has it come so abruptly as in Germany.[1]

This new departure in the industries and social life of Germany has entailed problems graver, perhaps, than those of a strictly political nature. Towards Austria, Russia, and France, Bismarck could act in accordance with the maxims laid down by diplomacy or suggested by his own keen insight. In undertaking to combat Socialism, he was entering on an arena where all was strange. He himself claimed that he was acting not altogether without precedent, inasmuch as Frederick the Great had boasted that when he came to the throne he would be "a true beggars' king"; but few persons have discovered much similarity between the paternal care of the peasantry, shown by any of the Prussian monarchs in the old feudal days, and the daring compromises with State Socialism which were to be attempted during the reigns of William I. and William II. In point of fact, it seems certain that the resourceful Chancellor, while professing to follow in the footsteps of Frederick the Great, really borrowed most of his new stock-in-trade from the socialistic thinker, Lassalle. He had had some intercourse with that charming man and daring thinker (whose career, we may note in passing, suggested the plot of Mr. George Meredith's *Tragic Comedians*), and as far back as the year 1865 induced William I. to advance a sum from the public funds in order to start a Weavers' Co-operative Productive Association in a poor district of Silesia.

Industrial and social problems came to the front place in Germany during the distress of the years 1876-1879, which naturally followed on the three years of extravagant

[1] See "The Transformation of Germany by Prussia," by Professor Marcks, in *Lectures on the History of the Nineteenth Century* (1902).

speculation and inflation (1872-1874) brought about by the advent of the French milliards. When Germany, after riding for a time on the crest of the wave, sank back into the trough, all kinds of remedies were discussed. Among other things Bismarck and a majority of the Bundesrath and Reichstag desired a return to Protection. Other motives than the economic concurred to bring about this change. The imperial customs revenue did not then yield enough to enable the financiers to meet the growing expenses of the State. In face of the rooted objection of the federal Governments to allow the central authorities to levy an income tax, the only remaining alternatives were to increase the customs dues or the contributions from the federated States. The latter alternative had been adopted for a few years until the limit of patience was reached. A return to Protection therefore seemed to be necessary on purely fiscal grounds. It is also probable that Bismarck by this new departure sought to pacify the deputies of many of the large manufacturing towns of Silesia and of South Germany, where opinion had been alienated by his anti-clerical laws. The year 1879, which saw the death-blow dealt to Free Trade in Germany, was also the time when Bismarck quietly resolved to shelve those laws.

We cannot enter into the very large question of the financial and social results of the new protective policy. Its working in Germany is complicated by so many cross currents that few would venture to dogmatise on its results. The return of prosperity after the prolonged depression of the late 'seventies was to be expected in a land which now enjoyed advantages never known before in all its troublous history. Further, the new tariff, which came into force on January 1, 1880, did not impose heavy imposts on foreign

foodstuffs; and not until the years 1885 and 1887, when the dues on foreign corn were successively increased in answer to the clamour of the "agrarian party," did the price of food show much increase in the large towns. From that time onwards the tension between the industrial classes of the towns and the landlords and farmers has become very marked, resembling somewhat the situation which obtained in England before the repeal of the Corn Laws. The resentment felt by German artisans against these concessions to the agricultural interest proved to be a feeder of political and social discontent, and furnished another motive impelling Bismarck to bring forward remedial measures.

Having now sketched in outline the conditions which rendered social legislation necessary, we proceed to note the chief efforts in that direction. The first important measure was the Sickness Insurance Law of May 31, 1883. It was the final draft of earlier proposals which had proved to be too ambitious or too complicated. The framers desired to find some practicable means of giving State aid, or a public guarantee for the same, to workmen in time of prolonged sickness. At first an Imperial Insurance Office was proposed; but it soon appeared that such an institution could not effectively guard against fraud in the form of malingering or personation. Finally the Government decided to make use of trade institutions or clubs which would undertake to give relief in case of accident or incapacity to work. Employers and employed were to bear their share of responsibility in providing the funds; and obviously, where this was the case, every care would be taken to prevent fraud.

An Accident Insurance Measure became law on July 6, 1884. It empowered a labourer working at any calling,

except (with some reservations) agriculture, forestry, and a few others, who thereby sustained an injury, to recover compensation from a trade or local organisation existing for that purpose. The money is provided by an impost on employers and employed, the former paying one-third and the latter two-thirds of the premium, which is generally about 2 per cent of the average wage. In case of death resulting from the accident, the relations receive a sum equal to twenty times the daily wage of the deceased and a small annuity. The employer is compelled to insure his workpeople against accident, and the law does not recognise any "contracting out" of its provisions. For the most part the employers have organised themselves into trade associations to arrange details for each trade.[1] An Imperial Insurance Office acts as a Court of Appeal in all administrative matters connected with the working of this law. A Court of Arbitration investigates the nature of accidents, and can give awards as to compensation.

The most ambitious of all these measures is the Old Age Insurance Law which was passed in June 1889. It is doubtful whether this complex and difficult measure would have been brought forward, still less have been passed, but for the keen public spirit and enthusiasm of the young Emperor, William II. His character will receive attention later. Here we may note that, while his father, the lamented Frederick III, believed it to be undesirable to multiply State interferences with the liberty of the individual, his son ardently responded to the ideals of State Socialism, and, soon after his accession, set himself to solve the many knotty questions which old age insurance always involves. In this he had the hearty co-operation

[1] For further details on this and on the next measure see Mr. W. H. Dawson's work, *Bismarck and State Socialism.*

of Bismarck, and of a majority in the Reichstag. The resulting measure was the first great effort to grapple with the problem of alleviating the distress of the labouring classes in their declining days. It applies, with but few exceptions, to about twelve million workpeople—that is, to all who earn less than 2000 marks (£100) a year. In order to build up a fund which will relieve the aged poor from want, the State imposes on the workers, even from the beginning of their seventeenth year, the withdrawal from their wages of a certain sum. To this the employer adds an equal amount. The State then supplements this joint sum by advancing a subsidy of 50 marks, or shillings, for every annuity paid in. Thus there is built up a fund for each individual by which he may hope to profit. In case of being incapacitated for work, he may begin to draw out an annuity (of course on a very small scale) after paying in during a period of five years. But he can reap the full advantage only at the beginning of his seventy-first year. For details of this complex measure the reader should refer to the work of Mr. Dawson already named. Here we can only say that the complexity of the measure and its compulsory nature have aroused no little discontent in Germany; and public opinion on the continent seems to favour the voluntary methods in vogue in France.

It is now time to turn to the more strictly political events that occurred during the closing months of the reign of William I. and in the reigns of his successors.

As we saw in the previous chapter, the years 1887 and 1888 were marked by great strain and stress in international affairs. Germany was more than once within a measurable distance of war with France, largely owing to the progress of the Boulangist movement already described. Her relations to Russia were also unsatisfactory. In 1884

Bismarck had succeeded in breathing new life into the Three Emperors' League (Germany, Russia, and Austria); but the overbearing attitude of the Czar, Alexander III, towards the Balkan States, especially Bulgaria, brought him to the verge of war with Austria; and in the last resort the German Government accorded its support to the Hapsburg realm. The League therefore went to pieces in the year 1887; and Bismarck knew that powerful influences were at work at St. Petersburg and Moscow to bring about a Franco-Russian alliance with a view to the humbling of Germany and Austria. The plan was that Italy should be cajoled and bribed into neutrality, or even into a betrayal of her allies. The whole truth has not come out on this subject, but it is known that Italy was true to her troth, and that the Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria, and Italy was renewed in March 1887.

That same month witnessed an important triumph of Bismarck over his opponents in the Reichstag. For a time they had succeeded in defeating the proposals of the Government for fixing the peace establishment of the army at 468,000 men for a term of seven years. In vain did Bismarck warn the House of the increase in the French peace establishment then being arranged by General Boulanger. In vain did he remind them that, if France believed herself to be stronger than Germany, war was certain. On January 14, 1887, the deputies refused to grant funds for the 468,000 men required, for a longer period than three years. The Reichstag was forthwith dissolved. The general election of February sent up a more complaisant body, which, on March 11, carried through the official proposals. It is perhaps significant that the Schnaebele incident, described in the previous chapter, happened only a month after the time when

Bismarck felt reassured both as to the military preparations of Germany and the solidity of the Triple Alliance. In the summer of that year rigorous measures were also taken against several Alsatian "patriots" who indiscreetly showed their sympathy with France.

Events that occurred in the autumn of 1887 warned Germans that France and Russia were drawing more closely together. Owing to a feeling of distrust in the state of Russian finance German firms refused to increase their responsibilities in that direction. Thereupon a group of French financiers, who had been waiting for such an opportunity, stepped in and secured the loan. This was the beginning of a long series of financial transactions between Paris and St. Petersburg. For a time Bismarck succeeded in removing misunderstandings that had overclouded his dealings with the Czar, Alexander III. He even entered into a secret engagement to secure Russia from any attack by Austria. But this compact seems to have had little significance except as a revelation of character.

Feeling insecure in the disturbed state of the continent, the German Government brought forward proposals for a further increase of armaments. The reserve forces were to be reorganised, so that half a million of men could be speedily added to the active army in case of war. A loan of 28,000,000 marks (£1,400,000) for the buying of material was also asked for. In support of these proposals Bismarck made a speech which ranks among the greatest of his efforts (February 6, 1888). In plain but convincing language he reviewed the past and present conditions of German life, pointed the moral as to the need of constant watchfulness, and emphasised the peaceful character of the Triple Alliance. In order to give substance to these

declarations he had caused the text of the original treaty with Austria to be published on February 3. These skilful tactics gained him an overwhelming triumph, and the Government proposals were passed unanimously.

It was well that Germany and her allies stood fully armed and watchful, for in that year the House of Hohenzollern and the Empire were to be subjected to severe personal trials. On March 9 the aged Emperor, William I, breathed his last. His end was saddened by the knowledge that his heir, the Crown Prince Frederick, was lying ill of an apparently fatal disease at San Remo. On hearing of the decease of his father, Frederick III summoned up all his strength and travelled to Berlin with his devoted consort, the eldest daughter of Queen Victoria. Into the painful controversies that centred in the question of his illness and of his right to reign it is undesirable to enter. Every one will now admit that he bore the trials of that time with wonderful fortitude and serenity. Had he lived, the policy of the Empire would probably have been progressive and peaceful. His intentions in this matter were shown by a rebuke which he administered to Herr Puttkamer, Minister of the Interior, for exercising undue influence in a question concerning the elections. The Minister thereupon resigned (June 7). Eight days later the Emperor died.

His son, the present Emperor, William II, differed from him in many ways. Fine warrior though Frederick had shown himself to be in the campaigns of 1866 and 1870, his sympathies were with civilians and with the cause of peaceful progress. William II had already shown his partiality for autocratic rule, and for its great support, the army. For long months past he had been the hope of the military class, and was well known to be on cool terms

with his parents—with his father, because of his leanings to Liberalism of the old individualistic type, and with his mother, because of her unconquerable love for the land of her birth. The young prince, headstrong and ambitious by nature, sided openly with Bismarck and the military party, and took no pains to disguise his dislike of Great Britain. Accordingly a thrill of apprehension went round the world when the young monarch speedily issued a proclamation to the troops couched in terms that seemed to presage war for the sake of maintaining efficiency. His proclamation to the navy was scarcely more reassuring; and only in the third place did he address his people.

The world did not then understand the complex nature of William II. With him the transition from thought to action is so abrupt that his first thoughts, which are coloured by the impetuosity of his whole being, generally find public expression. Yet his ultimate decisions nearly always bear the imprint of a very able mind. That he understands the needs of his people, in problems both of high policy and of social organisation, few will now venture to question. Much of his conduct has been marked by statesmanlike foresight and power. If his intuitions are swift and daring, they are now usually subjected to revision by a sagacious judgment. He has the rare gift of communicating his enthusiasm; and by stirring if somewhat florid eloquence he has breathed something of his own energy and forcefulness into the whole German nation, thus evoking enthusiasm from the Saxons, Hanoverians, and South Germans to a degree wholly unexpected at the time of his accession. Superficial persons, who then pronounced him to be a fire-eater, destined to drag his people to war and ruin, have now to confess that he excels in matters relating to diplomacy, the social amelioration of

his people, and the advancement of their commercial interests. Ambitious in aim and impetuous in behaviour he will always be; but when the difficulties of his position are taken into account, his success as a ruler must be admitted to be complete at nearly every point.

William II speedily falsified the croakers who prophesied the advent of war, by visiting Alexander III and by seeking to perpetuate the friendly relations that long had subsisted between their dynasties. William I. is known to have inculcated such a course of conduct in one of his last remarks. In Bismarck's policy also the maintenance of peace with Russia had occupied the very first place—as he showed by his secret compact in the autumn of 1887. Alexander III, however, seems never to have overcome the feelings of distrust and dislike which he early conceived against William II, and the relations between the two Powers speedily cooled. In spite of all Bismarck's efforts to keep France and Russia apart, the course of events served to bring them nearer together. This undoubtedly has been the chief diplomatic failure of the reign of William II.

Contrary to general expectation, his first care in internal affairs was concerning social and economic questions. These certainly claimed early attention. In the spring of the year 1889 public order was disturbed by several strikes of great magnitude. Beginning in the mining districts of Westphalia, they spread to other provinces and affected many other trades. The Emperor received a deputation of strikers, promised to take the condition of artisans into serious consideration, but warned them against taking part with the disturbers of the peace, who would be shot down without mercy. In the sequel the men gained an increase of wages, and several Socialists, who were

prosecuted for fomenting disorder, were acquitted by the Westphalian courts, among them being Herr Bebel, the recognised leader of the party. The Emperor fully recognised the need of alleviating the hardships of the labouring classes, especially in view of the increase of the price of food entailed by protection. He gave effect to his desires for their welfare by his Old Age Insurance Law of June 1889, already noticed in this chapter. While recognising the difficulties that beset this complex question, he expressed the belief that, with God's help, they would not be found to be insuperable.

The urgency of the social problem received unexpected illustration at the general election of February 1890, when thirty-six Socialist deputies were sent up to the Reichstag. The futility of the repressive measures adopted successively in the years 1878, 1884, and 1886 was thus revealed. On the other hand, the numbers of the National Liberals, formerly the staunchest supporters of Bismarck, sank from 91 to 41, while those of the Catholic centre rose from 86 to 105. Clearly a new time was beginning, in which the internal policy of the Empire, so long directed by Bismarck, would need revision.

A perception of this fact had already brought about a divergence of views between the Emperor and his Chancellor. This lay in the nature of things. Bismarck had held the reins of power so tightly for many years that he could ill brook control by a will even more masterful than his own. Differences began to appear in the course of the year 1889 on questions of foreign policy, repressive legislation, and the control of the Cabinet. In the first of these matters Bismarck's influence had hitherto been supreme; but now the Emperor, recovering from his earlier dislike of Great Britain, began to work for a friendly understanding with

her in African affairs, as came about by the very important treaty of July 1, 1890, soon to be noticed. Unfortunately, a *rapprochement* to her almost inevitably entailed a cooling of that friendship with Russia which occupied the first place among the political maxims of the Chancellor. He therefore opposed it, as he had consistently opposed British expansion in Africa for the past six years. Secondly, the Emperor had come to believe in the efficacy of remedial measures to cure the prevalent social discontent, while he equally distrusted the repressive legislation of the past. Bismarck, on the other hand, wished to increase its stringency. Thirdly, Bismarck claimed that he, as Chancellor, should be consulted about every legislative proposal and all details affecting the Cabinet of Ministers. William II, however, began to consult Ministers on important questions without referring the matter to Bismarck. The general election of February 1890 having dealt a blow to the Chancellor's influence, the divergence between him and his master became hopelessly wide.

The inevitable rupture occurred in the month following. The question of Cabinet discipline was the rock of offence. Bismarck ventured to remind his sovereign of the article of the constitution which enacted that the Chancellor should be consulted on all important questions affecting any of the Ministers. William II, on the contrary, claimed a wide latitude in the interpretation of this clause, and showed that he intended to ignore it as well as the protest of his Chancellor. The end came abruptly. In the course of an interview Bismarck offered his resignation, remarking, in English, that he was obviously in the way of his sovereign. "Yes," came the answer (March 17, 1890).[1]

[1] J. W. Headlam, *Bismarck*, p. 455.

The Emperor bestowed on him the titles of Field Marshal and Duke of Lauenburg; and the people of Berlin thronged in immense crowds to bid farewell to the aged statesman on his retirement to his estate at Friedrichsruh, near Hamburg. But nothing could staunch the wound. "It is a first-class funeral," he said, with a flash of the old sardonic wit. Well would it have been for him and for Germany if he had shrouded his latter days in dignified reserve. The masterful instincts were too strong in him; and from Friedrichsruh, during the last eight years of his life, there came forth an unceasing flight of bitter taunts uttered against his successors and his sovereign, which tended to lower him in the eyes even of his admirers. The closing part of his career illustrates the truth of the old adage, never to count a man fortunate until he is dead. As has happened in the case of many men of action—Themistocles, Marius, and Sulla in ancient history, together with Garibaldi, Jules Grévy, and Bismarck in our own age, occur to one as examples—the decline of power has revealed defects unsuspected in the days of mental and bodily strength. This was a woeful end, for by his keen insight and matchless force of character he had refashioned the continent of Europe. It is pitiful that powers so commanding should ever have gone astray before they came to rest.

His place was accepted by Count Caprivi, a soldier who loyally followed the directions of his sovereign in all important matters, international and administrative. In point of fact, William II thenceforth became his own Foreign Minister. A change soon came over the international situation. Whatever may be said against Bismarck's foreign policy, it had the great merit of keeping Russo-German relations on a comparatively friendly footing. The

Emperor William desired to extend his foreign policy. While seeking to retain Russia's friendship, he wished to inaugurate a wider policy for Germany. To do so effectively he deemed it needful to have a good understanding with Great Britain. It took practical form in a treaty with Great Britain regulating several matters in dispute in Africa (July 1, 1890). In order to understand the importance of the good understanding temporarily brought about by the compact above referred to, it will be well to survey the outstanding events in the colonial expansion of Germany.

German Colonial Expansion.—The German Colonial Empire dates from the years 1883-1884. For some time previously there had been a growing desire in the chief mercantile centres to secure markets in the new lands over the seas; it received a further stimulus in 1880, when Germany adopted a protective system that led to retaliation in the case of some countries. For the present, however, Bismarck gave little encouragement to the colonial propaganda until he felt reassured as to the security of the Empire; but in and after the spring of the year 1884, when he came to an understanding with Russia and Austria, he felt free to turn his energies seawards. Several spheres of action were already marked out by German merchants in Africa, such as Damaraland (north of the Orange River), the Cameroons in the Bight of Guinea, and Zanzibar; while New Guinea, Samoa, and other islands of the Pacific also came within the scope of their designs. They would also have liked to absorb parts of South Brazil, where their countrymen were numerous, had not any such enterprise been expressly forbidden by the political theories and public opinion of the United States. Africa, New Guinea, and Samoa, therefore, received their chief attention.

In Damaraland, now known as German South-West Africa, some of their traders gained a footing in 1883 at Angra Pequeña, and nearly came to blows with British settlers at that point. The Gladstone Cabinet at first underrated the importance of German plans, and then referred the matter to the Ministry at Cape Town, adding the inquiry whether Cape Colony would bear the cost of administration if the mother-land annexed that coast line. In consequence of a change of Ministry in the colony, no answer came for some time; and Bismarck, after protesting against England's dilatory procedure, decided, in August 1884, to annex the whole coast of Damaraland, except Walfisch Bay, which was definitely British. Against this high-handed action the Gladstone Ministry could offer no effective protest; and in the next year it gave up all claims to Angra Pequeña on consideration of concessions granted by Germany on the Bight of Guinea.[1]

In the autumn of 1884 a few German traders made great efforts to secure St. Lucia Bay, in Zululand, doubtless with the aim of opening up close communication with the Boers of the Transvaal, who then received much support and encouragement from Berlin. But on the question of St. Lucia Bay the Gladstone Cabinet was firm, and finally clinched the matter by sending a cruiser to hoist the Union Jack. Undoubtedly the more ardent of the German "colonials" were working to secure rights over the lands between St. Lucia Bay and Angra Pequeña; but all danger of this was ended by Sir Charles Warren's expedition into Bechuanaland, the expulsion of raiding Boers, and the establishment of the British protectorate over that important territory (1885). German efforts to gain a footing on the

[1] See the Parliamentary Papers on Angra Pequeña for 1884 and 1885.

coast of Pondoland, south of Natal, were also checked in the same year.

Meanwhile the Germans had been active and successful in the Bight of Guinea. Their emissary, Dr. Nachtigal, managed to steal a march over the British agents, and secured several positions in the Cameroons and Togoland before the Island Power was fully awake to the keenness of German competition. Ultimately, by the energy of the great explorer, Joseph Thomson, and of our National African Company, the Union Jack was hoisted over large and important districts on the banks of the rivers Benuë and Niger. Consul Hewitt also saved for us several districts in or near the delta of the Niger (1884-1885). Bismarck consolidated the acquisitions of Germany along the coast farther to the east, gaining complete ascendency in the Cameroons, where British trade had formerly been supreme (May 1885). At the close of that year he settled with France the boundary between the Cameroons and her new Congolese territory.

Equally skilful and decisive was the action of German pioneers on the mainland behind the island of Zanzibar. Dr. Karl Peters, a prominent member of the German Colonial Society, acting secretly with one or two friends, made treaties with native chiefs, and thus secured a claim to a great and fertile territory stretching inland towards the Victoria Nyanza. Here again British interests were saved by the action of a private individual, Sir Harry Johnston, who made similar compacts with chieftains farther north. In the years 1884-1885 Bismarck brought pressure to bear on the Governments of Great Britain and of Zanzibar, and they both finally recognised Teutonic claims over the eastern part, the great territory now known as German East Africa. Certain matters, however, remained unsettled,

especially in the district of the great lakes. Furthermore, in the closing years of the 'eighties, the competition of British, French, and German agents became keen at the court of the King of Uganda, the great question being who should be supreme in the lands whence flowed the head waters of the White Nile.

These and a few other matters of lesser import awaited solution by the Kaiser and the Salisbury Cabinet. It took form in the treaty of July 1, 1890, which provided that Britain should gain Uganda and the upper valley of the White Nile, while Germany acquired the districts around Kilimanjaro and north of Lake Nyassa; she, however, waived all claims to the island of Zanzibar, and recognised it and its tributary islands, together with the coast of the mainland around Vitu, as appertaining to Great Britain. On the other hand, the Salisbury Cabinet acquiesced in the extension of the north part of German South-West Africa to the banks of the river Zambesi. Finally it transferred Heligoland to the Kaiser. Despite the satisfaction caused by this last acquisition, German public opinion hotly resented the surrender of Zanzibar. The fact is significant as showing the intensity of the colonising sentiment in the Fatherland at that time.[1]

The gains of Germany in Oceania can receive only a brief notice here. As stated above, the colonial party sought to gain large parts of the island of New Guinea, where the Dutch had long had settlements, and British traders also had important interests. The Queenslanders felt a great repugnance at the prospect of German rule in that island, and the Brisbane Government sought to obviate this, or to spur on the Gladstone Cabinet to

[1] For details of the treaty see Parliamentary Papers: Africa, No. 6 (1890).

action, by annexing the south coast of the island to their colony. This was disallowed by the Home Government; but public opinion in Australia compelled that Cabinet to take action, which resulted in the compromise of the year 1885. Great Britain proclaimed a protectorate over the south-eastern district, while Germany secured the north-eastern, under the name of Kaiser Wilhelm's Land. With it are united for administrative purposes a number of islands, the Solomon Islands, New Britain, New Ireland, and others, which are termed collectively the Bismarck Archipelago.

The activities of the German colonials in the years 1884-1885 did not end there. They sought to gain the Caroline Islands, which had formerly belonged to Spain, but to which she now laid no effectual claim. This attempt speedily awakened Spanish pride, and the German Chancellor was glad to end the quarrel by submitting to the arbitration of the Pope, who awarded the islands to Spain, but gilded the pill for Germany by adjudging to her one of the islets as a coaling station.

The importance of German trade interests in Samoa warranted the hope that that group of islands would fall to the lot of the Fatherland. But, as British and American traders cherished similar hopes, a self-denying ordinance was framed by the three Powers in 1881, to the effect that the islands of that group were to remain independent. Civil wars, however, supervened, until the tribes were face to face with ruin. Accordingly, in 1889, a conference was held at Berlin in order to compose the strifes and provide for a general settlement. It took the form of a joint protectorate by the three Powers; but this again resulted in constant friction, until, early in the year 1900, negotiations between them led to the signing of another treaty, whereby Germany secured the most important islands, the

United States retaining only Tutuila and its neighbouring islets, while Great Britain waived all her rights in consideration of receiving the Tonga Islands. In the year 1899 Germany also acquired, by purchase from Spain, the Caroline, Pellew, and Ladrone Islands.

The most dramatic of her conquests still remains to be noticed. The gains briefly described above were effected in the first instance by the enterprise of German pioneers, merchants, and companies, it being Bismarck's aim to minimise the risk and expense for the German Empire until the value of the several districts was tested by private enterprise. That being done, he stepped in and proclaimed a German protectorate. No colonial empire has ever been acquired at so little cost, and with so little bloodshed at the outset, except in certain parts of Africa and in Samoa.

We can here only notice in passing the excitement caused, at the beginning of the year 1896, by the Emperor's telegram to President Krüger congratulating him on having crushed the foolhardy attempt of Dr. Jameson and his raiders into the Transvaal. It is believed that the Emperor's action emanated from his own impulse, and did not result from any settled design of favouring the Boers in their dispute with Great Britain. His Ministers were not responsible for it, and in a strictly constitutional sense it was no more than an expression of private opinion.[1] The matter, however, threatened for a few days to embroil two great nations in war.

Far more serious was the Kaiser's action in Chinese affairs. Here we come once more into touch with what he has termed "world-politics." In contrast with the tentative and rather prosaic methods of Bismarck, the Emperor's enterprise in the Far East bears the imprint of

[1] *Germany*, by Wolf von Schiesbrand (London, 1903), p. 30.

his daring and original genius. By it he hoped to reap honour and profit for his Empire, and to renew the good relations with Russia which had been broken by the Franco-Russian *entente* of the years 1891-1895. To some extent the new departure was anti-British. In 1890 he had made advances to Great Britain, in the treaty respecting Africa, described above; and in July 1891, during a visit to Windsor and London, he almost openly sought our alliance. In this he was disappointed. The Island Power remained obstinately insular. Whether that decision was wise is open to question. Doubtless it is well to retain liberty of action and to keep free from "continental entanglements"; but such freedom may be dearly bought at the expense of isolation when grave questions are at stake; and that was to be the case in the following years. In short, the Emperor turned away from Great Britain and towards Russia at the time when the Chinese Question was entering on an acute phase, and the ferment in the Transvaal was also working up to a climax.

In the year 1894 war broke out between Japan and China. The islanders were everywhere victorious, and China had to consent to the surrender of Port Arthur and Formosa to her enemy, when Russia, France, and Germany intervened and forbade the Government of the Mikado to acquire Port Arthur and its peninsula. Having no prospect of support from England and the United States, Japan gave way before this powerful coalition and handed back the Liao-Tung Peninsula to China—only to see it appropriated by Russia in two years' time. For in the meantime the Czar's Government had come to secret understandings with the Courts of Pekin and Berlin. An incident that occurred in the province of Shantung enabled the Kaiser to take a decisive step. Two Roman Catholic mission-

aries, who were German subjects, were murdered near Kiao-chow (November 1, 1897). The Russians had recently claimed that very desirable port as within their sphere of influence. William II, therefore, at first kept his real designs veiled, until he had come to some agreement with Russia. Its details are not known; but that there was some agreement appears to be certain, seeing that Russian action respecting Port Arthur and German action respecting Kiao-chow tallied at every point. Also, Russia would assuredly not have given up Kiao-chow without gaining a countervailing advantage—Port Arthur.[1]

Meanwhile three German warships landed 600 marines at Kiao-chow, and preparations for sending out reinforcements were hurried on in Germany. The squadron was placed under the command of the Emperor's brother, Prince Henry, whom he designated, in a farewell speech at Kiel, as the "mailed fist" of Germany. On arriving at Kiao-chow, Prince Henry demanded the lease of that town and of a neighbouring district to Germany for ninety-nine years. Seeing that the Teutons had the support of Russia, the Court of Pekin had no option but to give way and sign the lease (March 6, 1898). It is significant that, twenty-one days later, China signed away by lease to Russia the control of Port Arthur and the Liao-Tung Peninsula. It was as a set-off to these acquisitions effected by her rivals that Great Britain acquired from the Celestials (apparently without compulsion) the lease of Wei-hai-wei.[2] The Salisbury Cabinet, after vainly opposing measures which seemed preparatory to a partition of China, thus appeared to be an unwilling accessory to the process. The prestige of Britain suffered seriously from these humiliations, while her trade

[1] See Asakawa, *The Russo-Japanese Conflict: its Causes and Issues* (1905), chaps. iii. iv.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 125-128.

with the north of China underwent a check owing to the fiscal measures adopted by Germany and Russia in what were thenceforth their own close preserves.

The foregoing narrative, brief as it is, will serve to bring into prominence two of the great tendencies of our time. Political life is no longer what it was before the early years of the 'eighties, when the watchwords of Liberalism and Conservatism were all in all. Since that time European and national affairs have ceased to hold the first place in the minds of men. In the strictly political sphere the all-absorbing interests are extra-European. Since the time when France intervened in Tunis (1881), and Great Britain in Egypt (1882); when Russia pushed on apace her conquests in Turkestan (1881-1885), and Germany laid the foundations of a colonial empire in Africa and Oceania, the great aims of statesmen have been not national but imperial. Champions of the older political creeds may struggle to bring back public energies into the old grooves, but they will struggle in vain. It redounds to the credit of the German Emperor that he recognised the importance of the new claims, and turned the energies of his subjects to the new lands. Open to criticism as his methods have often been, they have opened a new world to Germany, thereby providing an antidote to the habits of introspection and narrow intrigue which often beset her political life. A comparison of the wide outlook and healthful energies of the German people with the self-contained, morbid, schism-rent existence of the Austrian States will serve to suggest some of the indirect but invaluable gains accruing to the former from the colonial developments that have now been briefly described.

In the internal affairs of nations the other great interest which has come to occupy a very prominent place is that

known as the social question. To some extent it results from colonial developments. The increase of commerce necessitates the growth of great industrial centres, and there the superiority of wholesale production over the old individualist methods tends to enhance the wealth of the employers at the expense of the economic freedom of the employed. Stated briefly, this is one of the chief reasons why the great colonising States have seen the growth at home of a proletariat that occasions them grave disquietude. The process is not new, but it has gone on apace since 1870, when Europe has had time to turn to the triumphs of peace.

William II has understood the importance of this new tendency of politics to what may be termed the imperial and the social sides; and, as we have seen, the Old Age Insurance Law of the year 1890 bore witness to his solicitude on the social question, though this measure and others like it did not disarm the opposition of the Socialists. On the contrary, they increased in aggressiveness as well as in numbers. It was partly in order to meet the distress in the large towns that the Government reduced the customs duties on corn in the year 1894; partly also in order to secure from Russia and Austria in the commercial treaties then under discussion more favourable terms for German manufactures. This concession to the interests of the towns greatly offended landlords, farmers, and peasant-proprietors, who formed important leagues for the defence of agriculture.

The Agrarians, as they were called, soon became powerful enough to harass the Government and to bring about the fall of the Chancellor, Count Caprivi, in October 1894. His successor, Prince von Hohenlohe, had hard work to bear up against the diverse attacks of the Agrarians,

Progressives, and Socialists; and the shifts to which he resorted were often more ingenious than dignified; but into these disputes and manœuvres it is undesirable to enter.

During the Chancellorship of Prince Hohenlohe (1894-1900) the great ship canal between Kiel and the North Sea was opened (1895). The Emperor also inaugurated a vigorous naval policy in the year 1897 as a support to his action in the Far East. We may add that the heavy expenditure on the fleet has led to a long series of deficits in the finances of the Empire. This new departure may also have been due to the friction with England over South African affairs, which for a time was acute. At least, the Emperor seems to have made use of the incident now to be described in order to stimulate the Reichstag to the construction of a great navy. At the time of the Jameson Raid (January 1896) the Emperor startled the world by sending a telegram of congratulation to President Krüger, but this action perhaps may be regarded as illustrative of character rather than of the settled policy of the Empire. During the recent Boer War William II disappointed the more Chauvinist of his subjects by maintaining a correctly neutral attitude. Had he been as hostile to this country as certain English newspapers represent, it is unlikely that he would have let the opportunity go by for dealing a mortal blow.

Now that the great colonial questions of the years 1884-1897 have been settled, at least for the present, it is surely time for the two great Teutonic peoples to cease from mutual recriminations, which in the main are the outcome of ignorance or misplaced jealousy. The achievements of each in the period passed under review ought to arouse respect and esteem. After a time of petty bickering these feelings often resume their wonted sway. In this

connection we ought to remember that the passions which overclouded Anglo-French relations in the years 1896-1899 have now been wholly cleared away. We may therefore hope that within a short space of time the misunderstandings which at present subsist between Great Britain and Germany will be recognised as altogether unworthy of great and intelligent nations.

CHAPTER XLV.

RUSSIA (1881-1900).

THE assassination of the Czar Alexander II was a disaster of the first magnitude. As we pointed out on page 370, he was about to institute a reform which would have, at least, prepared the way for representative government. His son Alexander, who now succeeded him, had for some years shown marked antipathy to the reforming efforts of the 'sixties. For a brief space there was a chance that he would carry out his father's last wishes respecting the government; but, unfortunately, he deferred to the advice of his former tutor, Pobyedonostseff, and decided to adhere rigidly to the old autocratic ways, and to wage relentless war upon the Nihilists. These men had forfeited all claim to the public sympathy which they had enjoyed when they formed the advanced left wing of the Russian progressive movement. By murdering "the reforming Czar," they had cut themselves off from all contact with the progressives, and their unpopularity greatly helped the Government in the work of retaliation. Several of those who were suspected of complicity in the outrage of March 13, 1881, were hanged, and many suspects were sent to Siberia.

Undaunted by these blows, the remaining Nihilists reassumed the offensive, and in the years 1882-1884 their deeds of revenge became more daring than ever. Some-

times they bewildered the authorities by adopting such devices as that of sending a basketful of eggs filled with dynamite, or leaving a sentence of death fixed by a dagger on the table of a doomed official. One of their printing-presses was discovered in the Ministry of Marine at St. Petersburg. Against ingenuity and devotion such as this no one could be safe, and the Czar at length retired into almost complete privacy, dividing the time between the palace of Gatchina, near St. Petersburg, and his winter residence of Livadia, in the Crimea. There he corresponded with his Ministers on all important affairs of State, besides supervising the details of administration, and the measures adopted for the suppression of the Nihilists. He rarely emerged from this privacy, save on great occasions, such as his coronation at Moscow in May 1883. Grave fears were then entertained for his safety, but the Nihilists were unaccountably quiet, possibly because they hoped that he would grant a constitution and an amnesty. This expectation proving unfounded, their attacks became fiercer, and his seclusion stricter, than ever.

For a few years this internal strife absorbed the energies of the official class so completely that Russian foreign policy became unusually restrained. In 1882 the Czar accorded his confidence to a statesman whose name became the synonym for prudence. M. de Giers, Chancellor of the Empire from 1882 throughout the reign of Alexander III, was a Protestant by creed and a Teuton by race; but his sagacity and common sense enabled him to dispel the dislike or distrust which his master felt for all the non-Slavs and "non-orthodox" of the Empire. In place of the "forward" policy adopted by Gortchakoff and Ignatieff in the Eastern Question, De Giers proposed to "mark time" in those affairs, and thereby ensure the goodwill of the

conservative Powers, Germany and Austria. He also reciprocated the advances which Bismarck made for the revival of the Three Emperors' League. That league, framed between the sovereigns of Russia, Germany, and Austria, at their meeting at Berlin in 1872, had for its objects the retention of existing boundaries in Europe, and the maintenance of the cause of order against the foes of society. It became a nullity in the years 1877-1878, owing to the disputes arising from the divergent policies of Russia and the Germanic Powers in the Eastern Question, but was now revived by the Chancellors of the three Empires.

In September 1884 this powerful league entered on a new phase in consequence of the signature and ratification of a treaty during a meeting of the three Emperors at Skiernevice. They thereby covenanted that if two of the signatory Powers differed on questions arising from the Balkan problem (that is, from the affairs of Roumania, Servia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Turkey in Europe), they should submit all such differences to the friendly arbitration of the third Power. As Germany then gave a general support to Austria on Balkan questions, this proviso ensured the predominance of Hapsburg influence. Indeed, it is improbable that the Czar and De Giers would thus have tied their hands, but for the help which they expected from the Central Powers in crushing the revolutionists.

While adopting, for the present, a conciliatory attitude in Balkan affairs, the Russian Government received encouragement from Bismarck to push on its conquests in Central Asia. As we have seen, the years 1884-1885 witnessed the beginning of an active colonial policy by Germany—a development which could not have come about but for the security which she felt on her eastern

frontier owing to the revival of the Three Emperors' League. Russia, also, when reduced to comparative inactivity in Europe by the combined, though diverse, influences exerted by the Nihilists and the Three Emperors' League, found a very profitable outlet in Central Asia. Experience had shown that gain to the Muscovites and annoyance to the British readily resulted from conquests in that quarter.

Early in the year 1881 Skobeleff crowned the brilliant services which he had rendered to his country by storming the hill fortress of the Tekké Turkomans at Denghil-Tepé (Geok Tepé), where his men slew some 20,000 men and women of that fierce and troublesome tribe. Thereafter the remainder were docile subjects of the Czar. Nevertheless, Alexander III, after his succession, recalled Skobeleff, and that valiant leader died near Moscow in the summer of 1882. When, however, the Czar felt himself secured on the west by the Skiernevice agreement, he allowed his emissaries to push on towards India, a land on which the Russian officials and soldiery then looked as *El Dorado*. The Turkomans of Merv, an important oasis, north-west of Afghanistan, were brought under Russian control in February 1884, and late in that year the advance of Russia towards the Afghan frontier was so threatening as to necessitate a delimitation of the possessions of the Czar and the Ameer.

Abdur Rahman, Ameer of Afghanistan, was under the protection of the British Government; but this did not prevent the Russians pushing on their claims, and backing them up by armed force, even at the time when the Boundary Commission of the two Powers was about to make an award on the matters in dispute. Finally, on March 29, 1885, a Russian force drove a body of Afghan

troops from Panjdeh, a town which had hitherto always been recognised as in Afghanistan. This outrage brought Great Britain and Russia to the verge of war; but the Gladstone Ministry finally acceded to the Russian claims, and passed over the outrage. The Ameer, it should be added, was not desirous of war with Russia; and in the arbitration which ensued he secured the Zulfikar Pass, to some extent as a set-off to the loss of Panjdeh. The present boundary between Russia's possessions and those of the Ameer was finally settled by the treaty of July 22, 1887. We may add here that Muscovite activities in the Pamir district, north-east of Afghanistan, thereafter caused some alarm; but the British also pushed northwards and occupied Chitral in 1894-1895. In the latter year the Russo-British spheres of influence were settled by a Boundary Commission.

Alexander III was the more ready to accept a compromise with the Afghans in the year 1887, because in the intervening years the Balkan Question had entered on an acute phase, thus leading to the permanent estrangement of Russia and Austria, and the breakdown of the Three Emperors' League. As was noted on page 368, the Bulgarians, who formed an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants in that artificial creation, Eastern Roumelia, decided in September 1885 to unite with Bulgaria proper. They therefore deposed the Sultan's delegate, and proclaimed Prince Alexander of Bulgaria as their ruler. Their action in thus breaking away from Muscovite leading-strings greatly angered the Czar, whose agents sought, though in vain, to restore the former division, until such time as he should be ready to establish Russian influence completely in the Balkan States. Failing to rouse the Sultan to action against the Bulgarians, the

Russian Government encouraged Servia to attack her sister State. This aggression was manfully beaten off by the Bulgarians under Prince Alexander (November 1885), and the union of the Bulgarias finally received the recognition of the Great Powers in a Convention signed at Constantinople on April 5, 1886.

The anger of the Czar at these events led him to threaten Turkey and Bulgaria with hostilities in the summer of that year; and, but for the close understanding between Germany, Austria, and Italy, the Muscovites would probably have ventured on a crusade against the Balkan States. As it was, Alexander III showed his resentment against the Bulgarians and their prince by fomenting various plots, the second of which resulted in the kidnapping of that heroic young ruler, and his transference to Russian territory. Thereupon the Czar allowed him to retire into Austria, doubtless in the belief that he would forthwith abdicate. In answer, however, to the fervent appeals of his people, the prince made his way back to Rustchuk. At that town he imprudently sent an appeal for support to the Czar, adding that he would resign his crown if that potentate so desired. On the arrival of a curt reply in the affirmative, the prince handed in his deed of abdication at Sofia (September 7, 1886). No act of Alexander III so thoroughly alienated public sympathy as this display of rancour against a relative, whose frank, brave, and chivalrous qualities had endeared him to his subjects.

The Czar now sought to terrify the Bulgarians into submission to his will. In order to influence the general elections fixed for the autumn of 1886, he sent General Kaulbars to threaten the voters as to the consequences that must ensue if the elections led to the return of an anti-Russian majority. These bullying methods served but to

illustrate the manly firmness of those newly freed peasants, and the quaintness of the ideas concerning freedom prevalent among the officials of the Czar. Thanks to the energy of a remarkably able man, Stambuloff, the Bulgarians defied the threats of Kaulbars and sent up a large majority of deputies who were determined to uphold the union and the independence of the two Bulgarias. Kaulbars retired, baffled by the stubbornness of the men whom he insolently termed "swineherds."

The danger arising from the persistent intrigues of Russian agents and their partisans led to Stambuloff acting as dictator in the interests of national independence. He governed sternly, crushed a rising of Russophil officers at Rustchuk, and at last had the satisfaction of seeing the National Assembly elect Prince Ferdinand of Coburg as head of the State (July 1887). Not long afterwards Stambuloff was murdered in Sofia, and his murderers have never been punished. Nevertheless he had finished his life-work. By his success in defying the might of Russia he had enabled the little State to enter on the path of well-ordered freedom, from which the masterful will of Alexander III had sought to divert her. The Czar persistently refused to acknowledge Ferdinand as Prince of Bulgaria; but in 1896 his successor, Nicholas II, quietly extended to him his official recognition. Russia, however, has never quite recovered the position which she forfeited by the unheard-of acts of violence of the years 1885-1886, for these all but effaced the remembrance of the services which her liberating armies had rendered ten years before.

The antagonism of Russia to Austria in Balkan affairs was so pronounced as to inspire, in the minds of Chauvinists, both at Moscow and Paris, the idea of a Franco-Russian alliance. In vain did De Giers seek to steady the

course of events. The resentment of the Czar against the Bulgarians rendered an accommodation between Russia and the Central Powers well-nigh impossible. Moreover, the extreme National party in Russia, known as Slavophils, headed by an extremely able publicist, Katkoff, worked hard to inflame the prejudices of the Czar against everything Teutonic. The result was seen in a lengthy campaign waged against the local privileges enjoyed by the German classes in the Baltic provinces of Russia, where they form the majority of the landowning, mercantile, and professional classes. This in itself served to embitter the relations between Russia and Germany, especially when a war of tariffs set in in the latter part of the 'eighties. But for the death of Katkoff in August 1887, and the damaging revelations at Paris concerning the traffic in State rewards and decorations, it is probable that a Franco-Russian alliance would have come about in the year 1888. As it was, the skill of Bismarck and the corruptions in French public life availed to hold apart the Czardom and the Republic for some time longer; but in the autumn of that year Russia began to place her loans on the Bourse at Paris rather than at Berlin, and these financial dealings became so profitable to Russia as to pave the way for the alliance of the year 1895. To this matter reference has been made in Chapter XLIII.

Here we may note that French money enabled Russia to reconstitute her war debt on more favourable terms, to re-arm her land forces, to construct a great navy, to complete her railway system in Europe, and to push on her trans-Siberian line. Native energy and capital has, of course, played its part in these undertakings, but they could never have been carried through on so vast a scale but for the influx of foreign capital. The results even in the field

of peaceful enterprise are very marked. One of the greatest authorities on Russia states that, whereas in the year 1855 there were only 1000 versts of railway in the whole of the Empire, in the year 1899 there were 48,000 versts completed and 8000 under construction. The textile manufactures show an equally rapid growth, namely, from the value of 463,000,000 roubles in 1887 to 946,000,000 roubles in 1897.[1] This phenomenal increase has been due in part to protective tariffs, and cannot perhaps be considered as solid, seeing that complaints about over-production have long been rife. Nevertheless, the growth of manufactures in the last fifteen years of the century must have helped to divert attention from merely political questions and thereby hypnotise the revolutionary propaganda which had been so active in the years 1878-1888.

However that may be, it is certain that, before the end of the reign of Alexander III, the authorities had succeeded in hunting down the Nihilists (never a large body) and in drilling that huge population into something like uniformity and obedience. The decline of Nihilism may perhaps also be connected with the general decline of Liberalism, which was so marked a feature of continental life and thought in the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century. Its symptoms in the life of France and Germany have already been noticed, namely, the paralysis of parliamentary rule and the growth of corruption at Paris, and, at Berlin, the loss of influence of the National Liberals and of the more moderate of the Progressives. This is not the place in which to venture on speculations as to the intellectual causes of this change (which in a lesser degree has also affected Great Britain); and reference has already been made

[1] Professor Vinogradoff's Lectures on Russia, in *Lectures on the History of the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1902).

in the preceding chapter to the political developments that may have brought it about, namely, the concentration of thought and energy on colonial concerns and "world-politics," or on the economic and social problems arising from the growth of the factory system and of great industrial centres. The evidence advanced by Sir Mackenzie Wallace in the last edition of his great work, *Russia*, shows that the younger school of revolutionaries in that land, after the year 1890, began to distrust the political ideals and methods which had nerved the leaders of the former decade to their desperate attempts, and that they paid more attention to the need of enlisting on their side the artisans of the great towns. It remains to be seen whether the new departure will be more successful than the old methods, which in many respects may be compared with those of the Carbonari, once so powerful in Italy.

If we except his failure to coerce Bulgaria, the Czar Alexander III seemed to triumph all along the line. By drawing close to France at the end of his reign, he established in Europe an equilibrium which his Chancellor turned to good account in many ways. He also consolidated the Central Asian conquests effected during his reign—they comprised close on 430,000 square kilometres —and began to oust British influence and commerce from Persia. He likewise ordered the commencement of the trans-Siberian railway, and prepared for the advance towards Manchuria which has led to the recent unexpected events.

Success also seemed to crown his efforts at centralising power and securing uniformity in his own dominions. Instinct and education had implanted in him a blind belief in the creed of the orthodox Greek Church and the heaven-sent mission of the Czars. Pobyedonostseff, Procureur of the Holy Synod, was ever at hand to strengthen the effect

of the teachings which he had early implanted in his pupil, and the result was seen in a series of administrative decrees against Jews, Protestants, and other dissenting bodies. The rabble of the towns, ever jealous of the Hebrew money-lenders and traders, soon found opportunities of glutting their dislike, and in very many cases ravaged and plundered the Jewish quarters. In 1890 Alexander III ordered all Jews to return to the towns or districts where they were officially domiciled, and expelled from the Empire all "foreign" Jews. The Stundists and other "non-orthodox" were subjected to persecution which very often ended in banishment to Siberia.

Side by side with these attempts to hound all Muscovites into the fold of the Greek Church came measures for the promotion of racial uniformity as far as it was possible in that polyglot Empire. All possible means were employed for the levelling down of the German element in the Baltic Provinces and the discouragement of the use of their language. Germans, who by their energy had come to hold very many of the chief positions in the army, navy, and the civil administration, now saw Slavs preferred to them on all possible occasions. At the other extremity of the Empire, on the borders of Asia Minor, the Armenians were pressed into the denationalising machinery of the Czardom, so that they soon began to regret their transference from the slovenly tyranny of the Turk to the remorselessly proselytising energies of the Greek Church.

In the closing months of his reign Alexander III initiated a series of measures aimed against the local laws and privileges of the Grand Duchy of Finland. As was stated at the close of Chapter XV., Russia acquired Finland from Sweden in the years 1808-1809; but the Czar Alexander I, in order to end the resistance of the Finns

promised to respect their local institutions and customs. His successors, including Alexander III and Nicholas II, have made similar promises, and Alexander II in the year 1869 granted to the Grand Duchy a more complete and precise guarantee of its constitution and local customs than had ever been drawn up. We may here specify the chief details of that constitution. The ruler is the Grand Duke, who controls the executive powers, these being carried out by the Senate and officials. He also has rights of legislation concurrently with the Estates. These consist of four Houses, representing the social Orders of the Duchy—nobles, clergy, burghers, and peasants. In nearly all matters a proposal, when submitted to the Estates by the Senate, becomes law when it secures a majority in three houses. The Grand Duke has the right of vetoing any measure. On the whole, this constitution has worked admirably, and though patriarchal in form, has proved to be adaptable to the growing needs of a singularly intelligent people. The Finns are neither Russian nor Scandinavian by race; they are a part of the Mongolian family of nations and have close affinities to the Magyars. They profess the Lutheran creed, and their civilisation and literature have been deeply coloured by their long connection with Sweden. A majority of the upper classes still speak Swedish.

At the close of the 'eighties the bureaucrats of St. Petersburg and the Slavophils of Moscow began to demand the russification of Finland. It was monstrous, they said, that the Finns should have a military organisation and fiscal and customs systems separate from those of Russia, and should not pay their full share to the military and naval expenses of the Empire. In 1890 Alexander III sought to give effect to these aims, and among other things merged the postal system of the duchy in that of the Empire. On

the Finnish Ministers and people protesting against this violation of their privileges, their newspapers were subjected to a strict censorship, several journals being suppressed. Preparations were made for attacking the Finnish constitution, but they did not take effect until the reign of Nicholas II. We may complete our notice of this subject by stating that the new sovereign, after at first relaxing the harshness of these measures, was won over to the cause of the Slavophils, and in the year 1898 issued a ukase which practically absorbed the military system of Finland in that of Russia. In February 1899 came the worst blow of all, when the Czar, on the plea of the need of interpreting and deciding on the many matters that concerned the relations of Finland to Russia, virtually abrogated the essentials of the constitution. In vain did the Finns send in a national petition begging the reconsideration of this all-important matter. Nicholas II refused to receive the petition, and pushed to great lengths the work of russifying the duchy. The result has been the complete alienation of a people previously renowned for their loyalty to the Russian crown.

It is safe to say that Alexander III would not have committed the mistakes which have marked the reign of his successor in regard to Finland and China. Except in the Bulgarian Question, where personal animosity against his namesake obscured his vision, the father was too reserved and cautious to go to extremes. These qualities, together with his practicality and persistence, secured for him a large measure of success. He crushed the Nihilist movement, dragooned the Jews and other dissenters, depressed the Germans of the Baltic provinces, and swept away nearly all trace of the municipal and local institutions granted by his father.[1] His warfare against Liberalism

[1] For details see the lectures by Professor Vinogradoff referred to above.

must count as the most successful waged since the days of the Holy Alliance. As in the days of Metternich, the press was gagged, the curriculum of the universities was severely controlled, and hundreds of students were imprisoned or banished on the most trivial pretexts. That Russia submitted to this odious tyranny seems unaccountable to the Western mind; but it must be remembered that Alexander III, though of very limited mental powers, had a force of will which made the Czardom a terrible reality; also that his policy appealed to the narrow nationalism then current in Slavophil circles. So long as he enhanced Russian prestige abroad and exalted the Slav race and the national church at home, the defects of his government were forgiven.

Certainly Alexander III did enhance the prestige of Russia, largely owing to the weak good-nature of British Cabinets, and to the desire of Bismarck to humour him as far as possible. When the Iron Chancellor retired in 1890, a new situation came about; and the Czar, by drawing near to France, imposed respect on Germany and Austria, even while he avoided the responsibilities of a definite alliance with the Republic of the West. Few sovereigns have gained so much by war as Alexander III gained by nominally peaceful means at the expense of weak or good-natured opponents; and his reign affords a proof of the terrible forces wielded by a Czar whose aims are practical and are carried out by an inflexible will, whose policy rests ultimately on an appeal to the prejudices of a fanatical and superstitious populace, and whose diplomacy, relying on the reluctance of modern States to go to war, extorts all that is sought for by methods which are then acclaimed by the ill-informed as marking the inauguration of an era of peace.

Garibaldi during his visit to England in 1864 heard Napoleon III spoken of as a very able and successful ruler, whereupon he uttered this sage warning, "Wait till the end." In a very real sense this remark applies to the policy, if not to the reign, of Alexander III. The results of his repressive policy are only now becoming apparent both in internal and international affairs. Assuredly no sovereign can be pronounced truly successful who hands on a growing burden of difficulties to his successor.

Nicholas II took up the burden of the Czardom on November 1, 1894. He was then twenty-six years of age, and, owing to constitutional shyness, which others have affirmed to be mental apathy, speculation ran riot as to his character. Even now the time has not come for pronouncing on it; but nearly all observers agree that he possesses the generous impulses of his grandfather, and but little of the physical strength, will-power, and practicality of his father. In the years 1890-1891 he made an extended tour in Asia, and while in Japan was nearly murdered by a Japanese fanatic. Proceeding to Vladivostok, he cut the first sod of the trans-Siberian railway, with the progress and completion of which he thenceforth closely identified himself. In fact, he seems to have made it the chief duty of his reign to ensure Russia's predominance in the Far East.

Only twenty-five days after his accession to the throne, he married Princess Alix of Hesse-Darmstadt, a granddaughter of Queen Victoria, an alliance hailed with joy by Britons and Germans as tending to strengthen peaceful relations with those countries. The Czar at first confirmed these hopes by keeping in power M. de Giers until the time of his death (January 1895). The new Chancellor,

Prince Lobanoff (1895-1896), was more ambitious, and sought to recover the ground which Russia had lost in Balkan affairs during the 'eighties. Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria was therefore recognised, on condition of his little son, Prince Boris, being converted to the Greek Church.

In other developments of the Eastern Question, the Czar acted in a way deeply distressing to all friends of humanity. The years 1895-1897 were marked by a series of persecutions directed by the Sultan and his officials against the Armenians. Many thousands of that interesting race were done to death both in Armenia and in Constantinople. The conscience of Western Europe was deeply moved, and the Governments of Great Britain and France made representations on their behalf; but all effective action was barred by the determined opposition of the Czar. William II of Germany also acted in a way that encouraged the Sultan to persevere in his fell work. Motives of policy are said to have impelled the Emperors to this betrayal of their trust as Christian rulers. The Kaiser continued the Bismarckian policy of supporting Abdul Hamid in order to gain support for German mercantile developments in Asia Minor, and, possibly, Turkish military support in any Russo-German conflict that might ensue; while Nicholas II, besides harbouring towards the Armenians in Trans-Caucasia the suspicion and dislike manifested by his father, desired to prevent any premature reopening of the Eastern Question while the energies of Russia were devoted to the Far East. The new Chancellor, Count Muravieff (1897-1900), urged on this new orientation of Russian policy.

The Armenians may therefore be said to have been sacrificed to the fanatical cruelty of Abdul Hamid II, to the imperial commercialism of Czar and Kaiser, and to the

timidity or prudence of statesmen then in power at London and Paris. France, it is true, was then somewhat fettered by her alliance with Russia, first officially avowed in June 1895; but, as far as is known, that alliance left her free to act in the Eastern Question.[1] In the opinion of many, a resolute lead given by Great Britain would have ensured the co-operation of France, Italy, and, perhaps, of the United States, in a cause where the honour of humanity was deeply at stake. It should be remembered that all the Great Powers had bound themselves by a clause of the Treaty of Berlin (1878) to ensure protection for the Armenian subjects of the Sultan. Apart from a few ineffective efforts by the Rosebery and Salisbury Cabinets, nothing was done by any of the Powers to fulfil this duty.

Instead of playing her traditional rôle in the Eastern Question, Russia was then intent on the problem of reaching an ice-clear port in the Pacific Ocean. As has been pointed out in Chapter XLIV, she made common cause with France and Germany in the spring of 1895, in order to compel Japan to restore to China Port Arthur and the Liao-tung Peninsula. Count Muravieff also furnished China with the means of paying the war indemnity claimed by Japan; and in return for this service he acquired the right to extend the trans-Siberian line to Port Arthur and of guarding it by military force, together with valuable banking and trading concessions which virtually made Manchuria a Russian protectorate.

The climax came in the spring of 1897, when by a secret arrangement with Germany the Russians compelled the Court of Pekin to cede to them the Liao-tung Peninsula on lease for twenty-five years; while Germany acquired

[1] See the evidence collected in my work, *The Development of the European Nations* (1870-1900), pp. 235, 242, 348.

the harbour of Kiao-chow and the neighbouring territory on similar conditions. Russia then proceeded to establish herself in the greater part of Manchuria in a manner which suggested freehold possession rather than a limited lease-hold tenure. Muravieff's action with respect to "open ports" was instructive. At first Great Britain received the explicit assurance that Port Arthur would be open to the trade of all nations, and that its lease to Russia in no way infringed the integrity of the Chinese Empire. Next, it transpired that Port Arthur was unsuited to mercantile trade and must become solely a naval base. Talienwan was then designated as an "open port," but under restrictions which virtually closed it to outsiders. Finally that new and artificial creation, Dalny, became the "open port." Hitherto its only practical use to outsiders has been to further the disembarkation of the Japanese forces in the year 1904. For while Great Britain, or rather the British Government, manifested singular complaisance in face of these proceedings, Japan understood their real import. The causes of the Russo-Japanese War are to be found in the events of the years 1895-1898.[1]

In view of the occupation of the best parts of Manchuria and the previous abandonment of the Armenians to the tender mercies of Abdul Hamid, it was with some surprise that the world heard of the Czar's proposal for a Peace Conference. The imperial rescript issued by Count Muravieff on August 24, 1898, is a remarkable document. It laid stress on the serious strain imposed on all great nations by the increasing burden of armaments, and suggested the holding of a Conference of the envoys of the Powers with a view to the arresting of this evil. The

[1] Asakawa, *The Russo-Japanese Conflict: its Causes and Issues* (1904), chaps. i.-vi.

Conference was held at the Hague in the following year. Apart from the enunciation of praiseworthy maxims, it did little or nothing to stop the insane competition of the Powers with regard to armies and navies. The only practical outcome was the founding of an "International Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes," which has been of service on several occasions.

In truth, the conduct of Russia in the Far East doomed the Conference to sterility on the main point at issue. At a time when she was enormously increasing her offensive powers in the North Pacific and threatened the partition of China, no Power having interests in that quarter could relax its energies. Various conjectures have been made as to the motives impelling Nicholas II to summon a Conference at so incongruous a time. The explanation seems to be that he felt genuine concern at the enormous increase of taxation in all civilised countries with its natural sequel, the growth of discontent and the advent of the red spectre of revolution in the near future. In Russia income and expenditure were "officially" represented in the budget of 1890 as about level at the figure of 1,000,000,000 roubles. The expenditure for 1900 threatened to show an increase of nearly 90 per cent, with small chance of balancing, except by the employment of great actuarial skill. Seeing, too, that Russia had secured the longed-for gains in Northern China, there was every reason why she should desire a period of rest, if only for digestive purposes.

Among the many other topics that might be noticed we can refer only to the action taken by the Czar in the war between Greece and Turkey (1897), and to the permanent causes of unrest in Russia.

The Greeks had never accepted as final the compromise of the year 1881, which gave them but a small strip of

Epirus and very slight power of influencing the south of Macedonia. Later on they pushed on their claims by means of a powerful society, the *Ethnike Hetairia.* The Sultan, on his side, had been working since the year 1882 to bring about a Moslem revival. The result of these opposing forces was perpetual ferment on the borders of Greece. Worse still were affairs in Crete. There the Christian majority more and more resented the tyranny of Turkish rulers and the license of their soldiery. Risings were of frequent occurrence in the years 1889-1896, until the Powers sought to compel the Sultan to redress the wrongs which caused them. By all the means which his diplomatic cunning suggested he evaded compliance, until Greece, exasperated by the sufferings of her kith and kin, sent troops to occupy Canea (February 1897). In vain did the Great Powers, including Russia, seek to arrange matters there, and to hold back the Greeks on the Macedonian border.

Provoked by the incursion of their bands, the Sultan declared war on Greece (April 18). His troops speedily overcame those of King George in Thessaly. Thereupon the Powers again intervened, and when the Turks continued to advance the Czar brought them to a stop by his remonstrance (May 18). The Sultan's demand for the retrocession of Thessaly met with a refusal by the Powers, who announced their intention to allow only "a strategic rectification" of the frontier. Meanwhile, on the withdrawal of most of the Greek and Turkish troops from Crete there ensued a time of anarchy, which was far from ended by the forcible intervention of the Great Powers. At last they compelled the Sultan to grant autonomy to that island. The last Turkish troops were withdrawn in November 1888, and in the same month Prince George of

Greece, cousin of the Czar, was appointed Governor, on the suggestion of that potentate. Though the rule of the prince has been high-handed, yet the condition of the island has greatly improved since the withdrawal of Turkish officials and soldiers. The action of Nicholas II in Greek affairs shows how effective his intervention might have been on behalf of the Armenians near his own border.

In the internal administration of Russia there has been little of that improvement which the humane temperament of Nicholas II led men to expect. While mitigating the severity of the measures taken against the non-orthodox, he, in other respects, maintained absolutism in its former rigour. More and more work has been allotted to the huge governmental machine at St. Petersburg, until the work of supervising matters of chief importance would now transcend the powers even of so persistent a worker as Alexander III. In short, the government often shows signs of collapse owing to its cumbrousness and to the many disputes among its officials.

As if it were not enough to control the affairs of a vast Empire, the central administration began in and after 1889 to absorb the powers of the Zemstvos, or councils for provincial self-government. In them the influence of the nobles was increased at the expense of that of the peasants, and the decisions of the Zemstvos were subjected to those of the Governors appointed by the Czar, even in such a matter as famine relief. "Land-captains" were also appointed by local governors from among the ranks of the nobles or gentry, in order to control the peasantry. Their power is very extensive. It has replaced that of the formerly elected justices of the peace; the new captains have the right of inflicting minor punishments at their own discretion. The peasants are not alone in having no legal guarantees against the caprice of officials and policemen.

Their authority is almost without bounds. Professor Vinogradoff, lecturing at Cambridge in 1902, said of this phase of Russian life: "Nobody is secure against search, arrest, imprisonment, and relegation to remote parts of the Empire." He further stated that, after the disturbances in the University of Moscow in 1899, one-fifth of the students were forthwith removed by the police. In order to bolster up this patriarchal rule, the Government systematically excludes all foreign newspapers and books which, however indirectly, tend to foster discontent against its procedure.

In the opinion of many of her sons, Russia is not suited to free institutions like those of Western Europe. The majority, however, seem to be determined to have that guarantee for civic freedom and freedom of thought which representative institutions alone can adequately secure. Though there are many differences between the Russia of to-day and pre-revolutionary France, their internal condition is similar in several important respects. Notwithstanding the industrial growth in the land of the Czars, the national income is never equal to expenditure, even in normal years, and the swiftness with which dearth passes into actual famine illustrates the condition of a peasantry ground down by taxes as heavy and unfair as those of old France. Therefore, despite the devotion which Russians feel for the person of the Czar as head of the State and head of the Church, it is highly probable that they will be brought by the concurrent results of bad government and unjust taxation to demand a complete break with the past. The closing events of the year 1905 foreshadow changes which promise to initiate another era of democratic activity no less momentous in its outcome than that inaugurated by revolutionary France, the course of which has been traced in this little work.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE LESSER POWERS.

SPAIN.

(*Continued from page* 228.)

ISABELLA II (1833-1868). ALPHONSO XII (1874-1885).
AMADEO I (1870-1873). CHRISTINA, Queen Regent (1885-1902).

THE land which had set the example to Europe of a national rising against Napoleon's usurpation had soon sunk to a state of apathy, disturbed only by the Carlist wars. Exhausted by these terrible strifes, it fell again into a condition of torpor under the demoralising rule of the young Queen Isabella.

Among the numerous ministries, those of Narvaëz and O'Donnell were the least corrupt and inefficient. Under the latter a successful campaign was waged in Morocco (1860) to extend Spanish influence there; but after the death of these two men in 1867 and 1868, one of many military risings succeeded in overthrowing Isabella's rule. General Prim and Marshal Serrano, returning from exile, were joined by most of the troops, and the people of Madrid, disgusted at the queen's private and public conduct, were soon masters of the capital. Queen Isabella, who was at San Sebastian, dared not return to Madrid, but fled across the French frontier (September 29, 1868), so Serrano was named regent of Spain till the Cortés could elect another sovereign. The Duc de Montpensier's claims found no favour because he was a scion of the hated Bourbon House; the Hohenzollern prince would have been elected but for the jealousy of France; and a Portuguese prince, who would have united the peninsula under one ruler, declined the dangerous honour. Eventually Prince Amadeo,

the second son of Victor Emmanuel of Italy, was elected (November 1870), but Marshal Prim, his chief supporter, was murdered before the new king landed in Spain. He soon found all his efforts at reform and good government thwarted by the republicans, and by the intrigues of the nobles and officials, who longed for the old opportunities of bribe-taking. So he soon resigned a post which he could not fill with self-respect and benefit to his subjects (February 1873). Then a republic was declared by the Cortés, and the gifted and eminent statesman, Castelar, strove to give it a constitutional and conservative character.

But during the disorders of the last few years the Basque provinces of Navarre and Biscay had been in a ferment, excited by the Carlists. The grandson of the Don Carlos who had troubled Spain from 1833 to 1839 appeared in those provinces which were still favourable to his cause, and this ardent young champion of divine right of course received the support of French legitimists. On the other hand, the doctrines of the Paris Commune had found in the south of Spain many adherents, who desired that their country should form a federation of provincial republics. Malaga, Seville, Cadiz, Cartagena, and Valencia revolted, and were reduced only after sharp fighting. A group of generals then determined to offer the crown to Alphonso, the young son of Isabella II, in whose favour she had abdicated in 1868. Castelar, the moderate republican statesman, reluctantly consented, and young Alphonso XII, on landing in Spain, 1874, received the support of most republicans and Carlists, disgusted by the excesses of their extreme partisans. His generals gradually hemmed in the Carlists along the north coast by battles near Bilbao and Irun; and when the rebels shot a German subject Prince Bismarck sent German ships to aid the Alphonsists. These in the spring of 1876 forced Don Carlos and most of his supporters to cross the French frontier. The Madrid Government now determined to put an end to the

fueros or local privileges of the Basque provinces, which they had misused in openly preparing this revolt. So Biscay and Navarre henceforth contributed to the general war expenses of Spain, and their conscripts were incorporated with the regular army of Spain. Thus the last municipal and provincial privileges of the old kingdom of Navarre vanished, and national unity became more complete in Spain, as in every other country of Europe except Austria and Turkey. The Basque provinces resisted the change which placed them on a level with the rest of Spain, and have not yet become reconciled to the Madrid Government.

The young king, Alphonso XII, had many other difficulties to meet. The government was disorganised, the treasury empty, and the country nearly ruined; but he had a trusty adviser in Canovas del Castillo, a man of great prudence and talent, who, whether prime minister or out of office, virtually held power in his hands. He succeeded in unifying the public debt, and by lowering its rate of interest he averted State bankruptcy. He also strove to free the administration from the habits of bribe-taking which had long enfeebled and disgraced it; but in this he met with less success, as also in striving for purity of parliamentary election. In fact, in Spain, and to a less extent in France and Italy, the government can control the elections in ways unknown in this country. This almost nullifies the effects of the constitution, which on paper is all that could be desired. The Senate is composed of (1) nobles, (2) deputies elected by the corporations and wealthy classes, and (3) of life senators appointed by the crown. The Chamber of Deputies is elected by universal suffrage, one deputy for every 50,000 inhabitants. The king or either House of Parliament has the right of proposing laws.

In 1883 King Alphonso paid a visit to Berlin, and was made honorary colonel of a Uhlan regiment. For this he was hooted and threatened by the Parisians on his visit to the French capital; and this reception increased the coldness of

Spain toward the French, who had aggrieved their southern neighbour by designs on Morocco. The good understanding between Spain and Germany was overclouded by a dispute about the Caroline Islands in the Pacific, which Spain rightly regarded as her own. This aggravated an illness of Alphonso, who died suddenly (November 25, 1885). His young widow, as queen-regent for her young son, managed public affairs with marvellous tact; and Spain may recover some of her old prosperity if she remain free from civil strifes. Since 1870 the trade of Spain with Great Britain has more than doubled.

The Spanish colonial empire never recovered from the loss of its American mainland colonies. Its largest colony, Cuba, fell into a state of misrule and misery, which finally led to the forcible intervention of the United States. At the end of the war of 1898, they annexed Porto Rico and the Philippines, paying £4,000,000 for those important islands. Cuba received local independence, but fell under their protection. A year later Spain sold the Caroline Islands to Germany. Thus, of her once vast colonial empire she retains very little; but these losses have not impaired her vitality.

PORTUGAL.

(*Continued from page* 226.)

MARIA (1834-1853). LUIZ (1861-1889).
PEDRO (1855-1861). CARLOS (1889-

AFTER the establishment of constitutional government in 1836 there was a period of comparative calm, broken by a military rising which substituted one minister for another. In 1853 Queen Maria died, and the king-consort ruled as regent for his elder son Don Pedro, and when he died for his younger son Don Luiz. He on coming of age was proclaimed Don Luiz I. (1861), and married the daughter of Victor Emmanuel. This little land of 4,000,000 has had an uneventful history. Its

position on the lower parts of three great Spanish rivers shows that it ought to be united with Spain politically, as it is geographically, and it is one of the surprises of history that Spain could not keep and conciliate a people united by race and religion, and differing only in dialect. When Spain was looking for a king in 1870 the Portuguese prince and people declined the offer which would have soon united the two kingdoms.

Portugal has managed to run up a public debt which weighs down its resources and occasions annual deficits. As in Spain, the population is indolent, makes little use of the fertility of the soil except for vine culture, and education is very backward.

Of her once great colonial possessions, Portugal retains only the Azores, Madeira, and Cape Verde Islands off Africa, parts of Senegambia and Loanda on the west coast, with Mozambique on the east coast of Africa, Goa and three small ports in India, and Macao in China. Her colonies are poorly administered, and give no strength to the little kingdom; but recently there have been signs that Portugal intends to develop her colonies, especially those in the Zambesi basin.

SWITZERLAND.

(*Continued from page* 247.)

THE movements of 1848 on the continent, as we have seen, left no result so direct and practical as in Switzerland. The constitution of 1848 had left to the several cantons their special institutions and local governments, but they have had to give up many of their rights; for here, as elsewhere in Europe, it was seen that a centralised government was able to manage the post-office, telegraph, money, weights and measures, and military matters, more efficiently than cantonal authorities. So the Federal Government has since 1874 acquired fuller powers over these matters and over the Roman Catholic

hierarchy. Universal military service raises the Swiss forces to the number of 115,000 men and 92,000 Landwehr, so that Switzerland is able to enforce respect for its neutrality, which also has the guarantee of all the Powers.

Matters concerning the welfare of the whole State are referred to the votes of all the citizens in a "referendum" or mass veto. In the small "forest" cantons the citizens meet to nominate their magistrates, vote taxes, and even administer justice. In the other cantons, most of which are larger than the aforenamed, local government is not carried on by this primitive democratic method, but wholly or in part by representative councils.

The opening of the St. Gothard tunnel in 1881 placed Switzerland on the main line of railway between Germany and Italy. By their energy and skill, especially in the manufacture of silk, cotton, and watches, the Swiss supplemented the resources of their rugged land, which has only half the area of Scotland, but four-fifths of its population. In elementary education Switzerland[1] ranks as the equal of Germany, and in advance of the rest of the continent. As a neutral State it has been the seat of international congresses, *e.g.* on the treatment of the wounded in war (1864), on the Alabama case, which met at Geneva (1870-71), and the International Postal Congress at Berne (1875).

Switzerland has successfully solved the problem of welding three diverse races, German, French, and Italian (numbering 2,040,000, 660,000, and 170,000 respectively), into one confederacy; and her success is the more remarkable seeing that the religious differences were, and still are, keen. The Protestants number about 1,600,000, the Roman Catholics about 1,100,000, forming the majority only in the south and east and the "forest" cantons.

Owing to their pride in Swiss traditions and their free

[1] Except in the southern cantons, Grisons, Valais, and Tessino, which are far behind the northern cantons in everything.

federal institutions, the three races have no desire to join Germany, France, or Italy. The nationalist aspirations which have wrought such changes in the rest of Europe since 1800 have been powerless to break up the Swiss Federation.

BELGIUM.

(*Continued from page* 197.)

LEOPOLD I (1831-1865). LEOPOLD II (1865).

AFTER winning its independence (1830) Belgium has also been free to work out its own career of prosperous development. King Leopold I. during his long reign showed himself the model of a constitutional sovereign in furthering its progress. The first railway on the continent was opened in 1835 between Brussels and Malines, and its railway system is now most complete. Its population between 1830 and 1880 increased by more than one-third, and now is the densest in all Europe, numbering 5,900,000 on an area only twice as large as Yorkshire. Thanks to its neutrality (guaranteed by all the Powers), Belgium supports only a small army, but it is being increased, and fortresses are being built along the Meuse to protect the great wealth of the land.

When Napoleon III seized on power in France all Belgians feared that he would imitate his uncle by seizing Belgium and all land up to the Rhine; but the close connection of King Leopold with the English royal house[1] and his skilful diplomacy averted the danger from Belgium.

The chief internal trouble has been the strife between the liberal and clerical parties. In 1850 there were over 400 monasteries, with some 12,000 monks and nuns, in the land, and the Liberals made strenuous efforts for many years to abolish these and control education; but neither party could command a firm and lasting majority. In the midst of these

[1] He was brother of our Prince Consort.

eager disputes King Leopold I. died (1865), after seeing his kingdom firmly established in spite of ministerial crises. His son, Leopold II, has often come into collision with the feelings of his people, but has skilfully held his own. In 1867 the Luxemburg question seemed to threaten the Belgian territory, for Napoleon III had secretly proposed to Bismarck that France should take Belgium and Luxemburg, as well as all land up to the Rhine, as the price of his friendship to the new German Confederation. We have seen how that was repelled. Again in 1870 the Franco-German war threw a severe strain on Belgium to guard its neutrality, but after Sedan this danger vanished.

The strife between the liberal and clerical parties went on as fiercely in Belgium as in France itself, and after the rise and fall of many ministries the Liberals succeeded in closing the convents and gaining control over State education.

The constitution is that of a limited monarchy with responsible ministers, Senate, and Chamber of Deputies. The electorate up to 1884 was limited to citizens paying forty-two francs a year in direct taxes, but in 1884 it was extended by the clerical party acting for once in connection with the radicals.

In 1885 the Congo Free State was founded by the Great Powers in pursuance of the General Act of the Berlin Conference held in that year. Leopold II, who had helped on pioneer work in the Congo basin, became sovereign of the new State, and found means gradually to transform what was at first an international enterprise into a close commercial undertaking mainly for the benefit of large "trusts." The Great Powers seemed quite heedless of this extraordinary change. Belgian and other companies have reaped a rich harvest from the rubber industry; but it is now known that grave wrongs are often inflicted on the natives, who are required to collect a certain quantity per head. Many persons believe that the only cure for these evils is the assumption of direct responsibility by Belgium. Probably she will acquire that great land at the death of Leopold II.

HOLLAND.

(*Continued from page* 197.)

WILLIAM I (1815-1840). WILLIAM III (1849-1890).
WILLIAM II (1840-1849). REGENCY (1890-1898).
WILHELMINA (1898-).

THE revolt of the Belgian provinces from the kingdom of the United Netherlands in 1830 had been hastened by the overbearing government of William I, who governed almost without the intervention of the States-General, and neglected Belgian interests. The constitution of 1814 left him nearly all power, for his ministers were not responsible to the States-General. The Upper House consisted of members nominated by the king. At last, after he had been forced to recognise Belgian independence, William I. abdicated in favour of his son. The latter soon restored a good understanding with Belgium, and improved the finances of his kingdom; so the upheavals of 1848 caused no revolution in Holland, and only led to a thorough reform of its constitution.

The Upper House of the States-General consists of members chosen for nine years by the estates or councils of the provinces, those of the Lower House by electors having a property qualification. The king's ministers are now responsible to the Parliament. Liberty of the press and of public worship is recognised.

The chief questions in Holland have been the reduction of its heavy debt, the increase of its army and navy, the improvement of agriculture and commerce, and the management of large and difficult colonial possessions. Like Belgium, Holland has not adopted universal military service; but, unlike her neighbour, she has to manage 28,000,000 subjects over the seas, mostly in Malaysia. She there holds all Java, parts of Borneo, Sumatra, Timor, the Moluccas, Celebes, and the western half of New Guinea; in South America, Dutch Guiana and the Isle of Curaçoa.

It was not till 1862 that the Dutch at a great cost freed the slaves in their West Indian possessions; but their rule in Malaysia is still conducted with the main purpose of securing revenue by means of an oppressive labour system. The Dutch claims in Sumatra are contested by the people of Acheen in the northern part of that great island; and the Dutch colonial army has never gained any decided advantage over them.

The chief prosperity of Holland has been gained by the energy of its people in reclaiming vast tracts from the sea. It is now proposed to reclaim half of the Zuyder Zee, which was inundated by the sea in 1282.

Holland is about half the size of Portugal, but nearly equals it in population, while its foreign trade is fifteen times as great. Most of the Dutch imports and exports consist, however, of German goods conveyed on the Rhine. The Dutch dairy produce ranks side by side with that of Normandy and Denmark as the best on the continent. There are import duties on nearly all articles; but trade and revenue increase, owing to the frugality and industry of the people.

DENMARK.

(*Continued from page* 158.)

FREDERICK VI (1808-1839). FREDERICK VII (1846-1863).
CHRISTIAN VIII (1839-1846). CHRISTIAN IX (1863-1906).

DENMARK is a maritime State about the size of Holland, has also lost its richer southern provinces, but, like Holland, owing to the vigour and industry of its people, has not succumbed in the struggle for existence. It numbers just over 2,000,000 inhabitants, but these are prosperous owing to their hardihood as sailors and their skill and industry in farming their own land.

At the commencement of this century Norway as well as

the Schleswig-Holstein duchies were united under the Danish crown, but the feudal system prevailed through Denmark and the duchies. The land belonged only to the nobles and gentry, who owned the peasants as serfs. But soon the serfs were freed, and by gradual reforms the feudal system was abolished. During the last half-century the leasehold farms have been changed into freeholds, owned by some 70,000 yeomen farmers, and by double the number of peasant proprietors. So, though Denmark has lost Norway and the duchies, she has partly made up for these losses by strengthening the base of her social system. Between 1866 and 1876 the value of dairy produce and of cattle exported nearly doubled. These and other reforms were not completed without sharp opposition. The democratic majority in the Folkething or House of Commons was resisted year after year by different conservative ministries, supported by the Landsthing (Senate) and the king. After the State was brought almost to a deadlock, matters were at last arranged by a compromise.

On Napoleon's intervention, a clause was inserted in the Treaty of Prague, that if a majority of citizens in North Schleswig should vote for union with Denmark, they should be so united. In 1868 Prussia offered to cede the northern districts if extensive guarantees were given for the rights of the Germans dwelling there; but Denmark refused these guarantees, and finally Austria agreed that the above-named clause of the Treaty of Prague should be cancelled.

Denmark has large but valueless possessions—Greenland, Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and three small West Indian islands.

The Danish royal house has given a king to Greece, one of its daughters is now Queen of England, and another was Czarina of Russia in 1881-1894; and in November 1905 a grandson of King Christian ascended the throne of Norway with the title of King Haakon VII.

SWEDEN AND NORWAY.

(*Continued from page* 158.)

CHARLES XIII (1809-1818). OSCAR I (1844-1859).
CHARLES XIV (1818-1844). CHARLES XV (1859-1872).
OSCAR II (1872).

NO country seemed to collapse more easily before Napoleon I's opposition than Sweden. This was partly because its feudal system was ripe for overthrow. The whole land was divided into 1200 large estates, on which the nobles lived, surrounded by serfs. The middle class and peasants had very little influence in politics, and manufactures were subordinated to agriculture. But in 1828 the prohibitory duties were repealed, and the manufacture of iron, in which Sweden is rich, increased at once.

The forcible union of democratic Norway with a feudal monarchy like Sweden had been effected with difficulty after a demonstration by the British fleet in 1814. Bernadotte, against Napoleon's desire, had been proclaimed heir to the Swedish crown, and in 1818 he succeeded to it. In 1824 the difficulties with Norway led him to name his son Oscar as vice-king of Norway, which he succeeded in reconciling to the Swedish connection. Oscar came to the crown of both lands in 1844, and soon strengthened his kingdom and the Bernadotte dynasty by wise reforms. Thus he conciliated Norway by granting her her own flag. Her government, her laws, and executive were quite distinct from those of Sweden. In the latter country he abolished trade-guilds, and in other ways freed trade from its remaining fetters; he also commenced railways, reformed the prisons, and placed restrictions on the sale of brandy, which was demoralising his people. So Sweden pursued her course of peaceful progress undisturbed by the movements of 1848, except that the cry for reform was strengthened.

On the death of Oscar I (1859) his son Charles XV succeeded him, and in the following year the patriarchal divisions of government and society called for reform. There were still four Orders or Estates, viz. Nobles, Clergy, Citizens, and Peasants. The division of Parliament into these four Chambers favoured the intervention of the Crown, which could generally oppose one Chamber to the others. Charles XV in 1860 paved the way for a general reform by instituting provincial and communal assemblies. The sympathy of Sweden with its Danish kinsfolk in 1863 and 1864 postponed the new constitution till 1865; but in the year 1866 Sweden modernised her Parliament, which henceforth consisted of two Chambers. The Upper House is composed of wealthy members elected by provincial assemblies; the Lower House of members elected by all tax-paying citizens. The nobles and clergy lost their special privileges, and religious liberty was proclaimed. Thus the Swedes, of all entirely European peoples, were the last to gain constitutional government on a modern basis.

Norway always jealously maintained all her constitutional rights against any infringement by Sweden, and the two lands were united only by the "golden link" of the crown. Towards the end of the century the friction between the two countries increased. Norway demanded a separate consular service. Finally, in 1905, she declared the union with Sweden at an end.

In 1872 the death of Charles XV brought to the throne his brother, Oscar II, who still reigns. Sweden concerns herself little with foreign affairs, though she is friendly to the Central European Alliance. Alone of almost all large continental countries, her revenue equals her expenditure, and she is not burdened by a large debt. It seems probable that the severance of the union between Sweden and Norway may tend to the weakening of both States. As has been stated above, a grandson of King Christian of Denmark, who had married a daughter of our King Edward, ascended the throne of Norway in November 1905.

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APPENDIX

RULERS OF EUROPE.

FRANCE.

Louis XVI	1774-1792
(Louis XVII.)	
1st Republic	1792-1804
Napoleon I	1804-1814
Louis XVIII	1814-1824
Charles X	1824-1830
Louis Philippe	1830-1848
2d Republic	1848-1852
Napoleon III	1852-1870
3d Republic	1870

AUSTRIA.

Elective Emperors of Germany.	Joseph II	1765-1790
	Leopold II	1790-1792
	Francis II	1792-1804
Hereditary Emperors of Austria.	Francis I	1804-1835
	(the preceding).	
	Ferdinand IV	1835-1848
	Francis Joseph	1848

PRUSSIA.

Frederick II (the Great)	1740-1786
Frederick William II	1786-1797
Frederick William III	1797-1840
Frederick William IV	1840-1861
William I	1861-1888
Emperor of Germany	1871-1888
Frederick III	1888
William II	1888

RUSSIA

Catherine II	1762-1796
Paul	1796-1801
Alexander I	1801-1825
Nicholas	1825-1855
Alexander II	1855-1881
Alexander III	1881-1894
Nicholas II	1894

SARDINIA.

Victor Amadeus III	1773-1796
Charles Emmanuel IV	1796-1798
(Piedmont annexed to France.)	
Victor Emmanuel I (restored)	1814-1821
Charles Felix	1821-1831
Charles Albert	1831-1849
Victor Emmanuel II	1849

ITALY.

Victor Emmanuel	1861-1878
(the preceding)	
Humbert I	1878-1900
Victor Emmanuel III	1900

SWEDEN AND NORWAY.[1]

Gustavus III	1771-1792
Gustavus IV	1792-1809
Charles XIII	1809-1818
Charles XIV	1818-1844
Oscar I	1844-1859
Charles XV	1859-1872
Oscar II	1872

[1] United with Sweden 1814. The union was dissolved in November 1905.

SPAIN.

Charles IV	1788-1808
Ferdinand VII	1808
Joseph Bonaparte	1808-1814
Ferdinand (restored)	1814-1833
Christina (Regent)	1833-1843
Isabella II	1843-1868
Republic	1868-1870
Amadeo I	1870-1873
Interregnum	
Alphonso XII	1875-1885
Christina (Regent)	1885-1902

PORTUGAL.

John VI	1816-1826
Regency	1826-1834
Maria	1834-1853
Regency	1853-1855
Pedro V	1855-1861
Luiz I	1861-1889
Carlos	1889

HOLLAND.

William V, Stadholder (deposed 1795)	
Louis Napoleon	1806-1809
(annexed to French Empire 1809-14).	
King William I	1814-1840
(formerly stadholder).	
King William II	1840-1849
King William III	1849-1890
Regency	1890-1898
Wilhelmina	1898

DENMARK.

Frederick VI	1808-1839
Christian VIII	1839-1848
Frederick VII	1848-1863
Christian IX	1863-1906

BELGIUM.

Leopold I.	1831-1865
Leopold II	1865

GREECE.

Otho I	1830-1853
Georgios I	1863

TURKEY.

Selim III	1789-1807
Mustapha IV	1807-1808
Mahmoud II	1808-1839
Abdul-Medjid	1839-1861
Abdul-Aziz	1861-1876
Murad V	1876
Abdul-Hamid II	1876

ROUMANIA.

Charles I (Prince)	1866-1881
,, (King)	1881

SERVIA.

Milan (Prince)	1868-1882
,, (King)	1882-1889
Alexander	1889-1903

POPES.

Pius VI	1775-1800
Pius VII	1800-1823
Leo XII	1823-1829
Pius VIII	1829-1831
Gregory XVI	1831-1846
Pius IX	1846-1878
Leo XIII	1878-1903

FRENCH PRESIDENTS.

Thiers	1871-1873
MacMahon	1873-1879
Grévy	1879-1887
Carnot	1887-1894
Casimir-Périer	1894-1895
Faure	1895-1899
Loubet	1899-1906

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